Daily Report

East Europe

FBIS-EEU-92-008
Monday
13 January 1992

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Trilateral Yugoslav Talks Begin in Pec 11 Jan

Strict Security Measures Taken

LD1201043192 Budapest MTI in English 1715 GMT 11 Jan 92

[Text] Budapest, January 11 (MTI)—Trilateral talks began today in the south Hungarian town of Pecs, with representatives from the Croatian Government, the Yugoslav People's Army (JNA) and the monitoring EC mission attending.

The Croatian delegation is headed by General Imre Agotic, member of the Croatian Supreme Military Command, the Yugoslavian by General Andrija Raseta, commander of the Fifth JNA Corps, and the group of EC observers by a Portuguese ambassador whose name was not revealed to journalists, but who is presumably the Portuguese head of the Yugoslavian EC mission with ambassador's rank.

The discussion held behind closed doors was preceded by unusually strict security measures, including preliminary misinformation as to the place and time of the conference. The actual site, the Hotel Hunyor, was cordoned off by the police, preventing journalists, photo reporters and cameramen from getting close to the conference room.

Imre Agotic, who was the only one of the negotiating sides to talk to the journalists present, said that the discussion would cover questions related to the maintenance of the cease-fire, and probably the scene of the next meeting. The outcome of the talks will only be revealed to the public on the basis of a joint agreement of the parties concerned.

The policemen on duty were caused some trouble by the arrival of a car with a Ljubljana licence-plate whose passengers were apparently missing from the official list of invitees. After a short consultation and the search of the car, the unexpected guests were also let in. Correspondents presume that the meeting is also attended by Slovenian delegates as a fourth party, but even Mida Gomez, spokesman for the Yugoslavian EC mission, declined to identify them.

Opposing Sides To Meet Weekly

LD1201045392 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 2100 GMT 11 Jan 92

[Report by Laszlo Gungl on news conference by participants in tripartite meeting on Yugoslavia in Pecs on 11 January]

[Text] The opposing sides have agreed that from 14 January on neutral territory they will hold weekly discussions similar to that of today. The Pecs peace talks, organized by the EC, between Andrija Raseta, a Yugoslav People's Army general, and Major General Imre Agotic, the Zagreb Government representative, lasted from 1330-2030 GMT with a short break.

At the international news briefing that was held after the event and which ended a short time ago, the EC's Portuguese spokesman stressed the importance of future meetings. As we discovered, the helicopter incident was also raised at the consultation, but all they said about this is that until everything has been thoroughly examined they will not issue a statement on the tragedy. Incidentally, a dialogue is also starting between Zagreb and Belgrade regarding details of former similar tragedies as well.

In answer to a question, they said also that for the time being it has not been clarified precisely how many UN soldiers will be sent to the region. It is not impossible, however, that this number will reach 10,000—naturally they will hold further discussions about this as well. However, there will be a need for the EC's peace missions; thus, it is not impossible that they will conduct their activity in parallel.

It emerged at the end of the peace talks, held amid the greatest secrecy and special security measures, that a Slovenian delegation was also staying in Pecs although they did not join in the substantive work—they were present only as observers.

Portuguese Spokesman Briefs Media

LD1201045892 Budapest MTI in English 2228 GMT 11 Jan 92

[Text] Budapest, January 11 (MTI)—The trilateral meeting held in Pecs, southwest Hungary, on Saturday [11 January] was qualified as successful by the Portuguese spokesman for the European Community's Yugoslavian mission.

Briefing journalists about the over six-hour talks which ended late in the evening, Joao Mida Gomez said that the Croatian delegation headed by General Imre Agotic, member of the Croatian Supreme Military Command and the Yugoslavian negotiating group under General Andrija Raseta, commander of the Fifth Corps of the Yugoslavian People's Army (JNA) agreed to continue the discussions at a neutral site on a weekly basis from January 14. To promote the joint clarification of debated questions, representations will be opened by the Yugoslavian People's Army in Zagreb and by the Croatian National Guard in Belgrade.

According to diplomatic observers, the agreement marks a major step towards the recognition of Zagreb as an equal partner by Belgrade. Asked what will be the task of the EC mission after the arrival of the UN troops, the spokesman said that they would cooperate and carry out certain parallel tasks.

General Imre Agotic, member of the Croatian Supreme Military Command, said that from now on they will jointly investigate possible incidents violating the cease-fire. He added he has no knowledge about major incidents as the agreement is being observed by both parties.

Answering a question, General Andrija Raseta described the armed conflicts during the cease-fire as isolated squabblings.

Prior to the Pecs conference held amid extremely strict security measures, a Slovenian delegation from Ljubljana conferred with partners from Belgrade and Zagreb about air control matters, but they were not present at the meeting attended by the European Community.

A communique on the tragedy of the EC observers' helicopter is yet to be issued on completion of the investigations.

President Alia Approves Taxation Laws 11 Jan

AU1201154792 Tirana ATA in English 0902 GMT 12 Jan 92

[Text] Tirana, January 12 (ATA)—On January 11 1991, the president of the Republic promulgated the laws "On the Taxes Imposed by State on a Certain Group of Monopoly Goods in the Republic of Albania," "On the Tax for Profit," "On the Income Tax for the Physical Persons in the Private Sectors of Trade, Handicraft and Other Services," and "On the Administration of the Duties and Taxes in the Republic of Albania," laws which are approved by the People's Assembly on January 6, 1991.

Police Intervene To Prevent Exodus in Vlore

AU1201152492 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1430 GMT 12 Jan 92

[Text] A statement by the spokesman of the Public Order Ministry states that large crowds of people bent on exodus gathered near the port of Vlore at about 1700 GMT on 11 January. After 2000, more than 1,000 people surged toward the port's main gate and began to throw stones at the forces of order. The police, alongside forces for the reestablishment of order, forcibly intervened and dispersed the crowd, managing to normalize the situation around the port by 2130. One soldier was wounded by stones and was sent to the hospital. The police seized 30 people and escorted them to the police station.

There have been other flagrant cases recently in which policemen have been wounded while on duty. On 10 January the policeman Gjok Martini, who was guarding a train loaded with wheat at the station of (?Bahce) near Lezhe, was thrown from the train by people who had gathered to loot the wheat. Martini was seriously injured.

On 6 January four people struck two Tirana policemen, Arian Kortusa and Myslim Budini, with solid objects.

Writers Protest 'Chauvinist Hellenism' Influence

AU1201155192 Tirana ATA in English 0945 GMT 12 Jan 92

[Text] Tirana, January 12 (ATA)—The newspaper "ZERI I POPULLIT" carries a letter by a group of independent writers of Albania, among whom Agim Shehu, Kole Jakova, Naum Prifti, Ndreke Luca, Robert Shvarc, Frederik Reshpja, etc. In the letter they speak of the grave situation the country is in and stress among other things that holding our face towards democracy we must keep our eyes to the nation.

Through their letter the Albanian independent writers forward some demands to the People's Assembly, the president, government, parties and patriotic associations, to the whole nation.

They demand among other things that the museum-room of our great national poet Naim Frasheri in Sarande District be restored to the previous state. In Gjirokaster and Sarande, major cities of the country, they say, the Albanian sovereignty and face of the cities should not be infringed upon, even by the Greek boards above the trade units and elsewhere. The opening of the mutual consulates, as they say, in the present conditions would be a deception for Albania, as we are not on an equal position, they point out.

The independent writers of Albania say in continuation that the land should be given to the one who tills it, that is, to the peasant. But granting by land-patent the historically Albanian lands to the minority by our Assembly, without a clause and preliminary condition in the law, means to sell the nation which will be of grave consequences for the future, especially when Omonia claims openly that it owns autochthonous lands within Albania.

In their letter they point out that the way should be barred to the mission of the Greek Church in Albania, which with its envoys inspired by the Patriarchate, are openly preparing the chauvinist Hellenism. Our historians and the respective institutions, they say in conclusion, should engage themselves with might and main in making public the historic truths of the Albanian nation, especially in the roots of the antiquity.

Paper Shortage Suspends Newspaper Publication

AU1201154592 Tirana ATA in English 0949 GMT 12 Jan 92

[Text] Tirana, January 12 (ATA)—The ATA correspondent learned from the responsible of the paper printing house, Mr. Hasan Kasmi, that for lack of paper for the press, no newspaper will be published from January 12 and on, until the necessary contingent of paper be ensured.

Berisha, Greek Ambassador Discuss Problems

AU1201171292 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1430 GMT 12 Jan 92

[Text] Dr. Sali Berisha, chairman of the Democratic Party [PD], accompanied by Deputy Alfred Serreqi, head of the party's foreign relations section, met with Mr. (?Narkoulas), the Greek ambassador to Albania, on 11 January.

Berisha emphasized that the PD and democratic public opinion in Albania are watching developments in the Balkans with interest. These developments show that the situation is deteriorating. Following the collapse of communism in Moscow, Belgrade has become a center of European communism and is pursuing an expansionist policy. Belgrade is also attempting to forcibly create a third Yugoslavia against all international regulations and the principles of Helsinki.

The changes noticed in relations between Albania and Greece also worry us. In the PD view, these relations should improve and become more stable. Democratic

forces in Albania and Greece must contribute to improving the situation in the Balkans.

On the Albanian side, the PD has insisted that Albania should follow a balanced policy that will protect national interests and, of course, not conflict with the interests of other peoples in the Balkans, especially Albania's neighbors.

On the other hand, the PD and the Albanian people are grateful to the Greek Government for the great help given to them in this period. The loan promised by Mitsotakis has still not been unblocked, but Greece has helped by sheltering and employing thousands of Albanians and has assisted Albania in overcoming its economic crisis. The people and democratic forces in Albania will be deeply grateful to the Greek people for this.

Another problem discussed more privately than officially was the presence of Italian soldiers for the distribution of aid. The clear stand of the PD has been that the Albanian Government should have asked the United Nations for support in food aid distribution. It is indisputable, however, that the Italian units engaged in distributing food aid in Albania have behaved correctly. It is for this reason, as far as we are aware, that the EEC later asked these units to continue with distributing EEC aid.

Greece, as an EEC member, should raise this question with the EEC if it sees grounds for concern in this presence. I believe, however, that there are no grounds for concern and that Greece has not exercised its right to raise the problem.

Various events, however, have undeniably worried us ordinary Albanians too, such as the bilateral conference on a religious basis that was scheduled for Athens. We see no motive or reason for our exclusion from talks in which solutions to the problems of the Balkans were to be discussed. Such a conference was not held, no doubt to pacify everyone.

The second matter which worries us is the continual comings and goings between Belgrade and Athens. Of course, we are not against dialogue, but for strengthening it. When this dialogue takes place in a one-sided way, however, there is no way of preventing concern from arising. The historical and traditional Tirana-Athens and Athens-Tirana links should also have been involved, because there is no reason why we should exclude each other from discussion and dialogue when problems require solution, all the more so when our two peoples are old neighbors.

We, as a party, supported from the outset the arrival of religious missionaries to give Albanians the right and opportunity to exercise their right to religion. In this sense, I personally have great respect for the patriarch of Istanbul and the exarch he has sent to Albania. The distribution to churches of calendars that are in outright conflict with God's principle of peace among men, however, is quite unacceptable. These calendars openly breach the Helsinki principles that do not allow the seizure of territory or changing borders.

We are extremely worried at the mopping-up operation conducted against the Albanian refugees. I must, first of all, emphasize that this operation was highly unworthy of Greek civilization. People cannot be simply swept up, they are human beings. While I repeat again that Greece has given assistance recently, I wish to recall here that during this century hundreds, thousands, and millions of people left Greece, not because it is not an attractive country, which it is, but because it is poor. They no doubt committed crimes in different countries, but no one started a mopping-up operation against the Greeks, and no one slandered the Greek people and Greek civilization over 10 or 15 criminals.

It has been a historical custom of the Greek and Albanian peoples to show generosity to each other, so it is a duty of politicians to find solutions to these issues and not complicate them further. The situation in the Balkans today is extremely difficult. The EEC has launched a major initiative to solve the Balkan crisis, i.e. the Yugoslav crisis, which is to some extent also a Balkan crisis. The United Nations is also dealing with this crisis. It would be to the honor of the Balkan countries if they were to launch their own initiative alongside these others in order to ensure for their peoples the peace they need in place of war, because war would be a catastrophe for democracy and for these countries' very existence. I wish on this occasion to appeal once again to those distinguished Greek politicians, Mr. Mitsotakis and Mr. Papandreou, for help in wisely solving these problems through dialogue. I would also wish that the mopping-up operation be stopped, because this operation is not to the honor of Greece and sends Albanians back to misery. The international regulations that Greece has undertaken to respect must be observed toward these people.

The ambassador stressed that he would convey all these views and concerns to Athens. He said, moreover, that relations between Albania, Greece, and Serbia are traditional relations that do not threaten other states. As for the refugees, he said that it is not a question of those who have regular visas but of the hundreds and thousands of others who have arrived illegally. A way must be found of stopping these people. The crimes committed by some of them have resulted in negative public opinion. He expressed, however, the conviction that the situation that has arisen may be overcome through dialogue.

Citizens Elect Heads of State for First Time

21 Tandem Candidates Running

AU1201134092 Sofia BTA in English 0958 GMT 12 Jan 92

[Text] Sofia, January 12 (BTA)—Bulgarians are going to the polls today to elect a president and a vice president. For the first time, the head of state will be chosen by direct popular vote.

Twenty-one tandems are standing for the presidency and the vice presidency after one pair retired from the race at the last minute yesterday.

The candidates backed by the ruling Union of Democratic Forces (SDS): incumbent President Zhelyu Zhelev and Mrs. Blaga Dimitrova, stand the best chance of winning the elections. The former Communist Party did not nominate candidates of its own but declared its support for an independent tandem: Mr. Velko Vulkanov (in his second office as MP [member of parliament] elected on the Socialist Party ticket) and Mr. Rumen Vodenicharov.

Expatriates are also eligible to vote, after the SDS-dominated parliament amended the electoral law accordingly. Polling stations operate in 53 countries for Bulgarians resident abroad.

The poll will end at 7 P.M. local time. The first parallel vote tabulations are expected several hours later.

On the basis of the constituency electoral commissions reports, the Central Electoral Commission will declare the results 48 hours after the end of the elections. The commission will need another 24 hours to consolidate the data of the polling districts tally sheets and announced the official final results.

Under the Constitution, to be elected a candidate has to collect more than half of the valid votes, provided that more than half of the qualified voters have cast their ballot. If no candidate aggregates 50 percent of the votes, a second round of voting will be held next Sunday [19 January] for the two tandems which will have performed best today.

The Central Operational Headquarters with the Ministry of the Interior which is in charge of security on election day said that the situation in the country is calm. There are no reports of extremist actions or gross breaches of the peace. As from the evening of January 11, the police has been guarding the polling stations from the outside, the headquarters said. The Interior Ministry maintains the necessary reserve and is ready to react if the situation gets complicated.

No reports have been received so far of irregularities in the electoral process that would warrant police intervention.

National radio and the BTA correspondents around the country report that the poll began and is going on calmly with a moderately heavy voter turnout. The participation will probably increase at noon.

Apart from the police, all services of the Civil Defence as well as Bulgaria's Council of Ministers are working today.

No 'Gross' Violations Reported

AU1201154292 Sofia BTA in English 1458 GMT 12 Jan 92

[Text] Sofia, January 12 (BTA)—According to preliminary estimates received at the Central Electoral Commission (CEC) by 3 P.M. [1300 GMT], more than 50 percent of Bulgarians have cast their votes in the first direct presidential elections. Under the constitution to be elected a candidate has to collect more than half of the votes provided that more than half of the qualified voters have cast their ballot.

About 3 P.M. local time the turnout of voters at the different polling stations ranged between 35 percent and 65 percent. The highest turnout was recorded in the region of Yambol (southeastern Bulgaria) and Razgrad (northeastern Bulgaria), as well as in Sofia and the bigger towns. The polling process is over for the Bulgarians living in Australia, Singapore, Japan and Afghanistan.

According to Mr. Rumen Nenkov of the CEC, there have been no gross violations that might affect the legitimacy of the elections and influence the choice of voters. There have been certain minor incidents, such as shortage of ballot-papers and cases of electioneering on the polling day.

The first results are expected to come out by midnight.

According to data supplied by the Foreign Ministry, about 60,000 Bulgarians will cast their votes abroad. The total number of voters, including servicemen and expatriots amounts to 6,500,000.

The observers of the Bulgarian Association for Fair Elections and Civil Rights are conducting a parallel count of the votes on the basis of a 5-percent representative sample from 600 polling stations across the country.

Servicemen are voting at the polling stations situated in the vicinity of their garrisons alongside civilians, the Ministry of Defence says. Servicemen under temporary detention will be released and will cast their votes without escort.

Major Karayev, spokesman for the Ministry of the Interior, told BTA that all detainees whose sentences have not yet come into force will be allowed to vote. They are free to decide whether to exercise their voting right or not. Detainees will cast their votes at special guarded polling stations. They will enter the polling booths alone.

95 foreign and 119 Bulgarian journalists have already been accredited at the International Press Centre. Accreditation will continue to 5 P.M.

Zhelev Receives 44.14 Percent

AU1301074592 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 0700 GMT 13 Jan 92

[Text] At the beginning of our newscast we will contact our reporter Zlatina Georgieva, who is at the Central Election Commission following the counting of the presidential election votes. Let us hear what she has to say:

[Georgieva] After the mountain of data, percentages, and names, the mood at the Central Election Commission gradually calmed down. It is obvious that nothing shocking could happen, and no major upsets should be expected. Simply, we must wait until the lasts protocols are received.

So far 80 percent of the protocols sent by fax are available. I repeat, I mean protocols received by fax. Mr. Dimitur Topliyski will now report the last data received from the Tabulating Center of the Central election Commission.

[Topliyski] Perhaps for you this is new data, but for me it already is old hat. Just a few protocols were faxed in the last few minutes, so the results have not changed. Let me repeat them: Some 75.46 percent of the voters—more than 4,100,000 people—have actually voted. Some 44.14 percent of them voted for Zhelev-Dimitrova; 30.04 percent for Vulkanov-Vodenicharov; and 16.93 for George Ganchev-Petur Beron.

We do not think that there will be any significant change, not even within the framework of one-half of 1 percent.

I would like to say that only three okrugs—Razgrad, Ruse, and Vidin—have faxed 100 percent of their protocols.

[Georgieva] What about Mikhaylovgrad?

[Topliyski] They have faxed more than 95 percent of their protocols. The situation in Blagoevgrad is very bad. I hope my friends there hear me. Only 21 percent of their protocols have been faxed. I hope they accelerate their pace, so that we may learn how things developed there. Sliven, Troyan, Sofia, and Pazardzhik Okrugs also lag behind in processing their protocols. However, they have sent about 50-60 percent of their protocols. Thus, I am asking my colleagues to make an effort and send us more information.

The presidential candidates' performance in the various okrugs is as follows: Mr. Zhelev practically leads in all okrugs, except four—Vidin, Vratsa, Mikhaylovgrad, and Yambol—where Velko Vulkanov and Rumen Vodenicharov lead. It is interesting to point out the results from the polling stations abroad. Our citizens were afraid that 100,000 to 200,000 or even half a million Bulgarians abroad would vote. This obviously did not happen. Apparently, somebody was interested in scaring the Bulgarian people by stressing that 1 million people would vote abroad. Until now we have information that—please note—1,700 people have voted abroad. Thus the entire noise around the issue that the results of the presidential election would be determined abroad was in vain and represented a typical case of manipulation.

[Georgieva] So this is another forecast that did not materialize. When can we expect the final results from abroad?

[Topliyski] Well, we practically have them all. If there is anything new, we will impart it in the forthcoming newscasts.

Candidates Hold News Conferences

AU1301092492 Sofia BTA in English 0834 GMT 13 Jan 92

[Text] Sofia, January 13 (BTA)—"Bulgaria is experiencing a difficult period. It is still confronted with the question: democracy or communism. I believe the people will make the right choice." These were words said by the incumbent President Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev at his first press conference last night after the first projections of the presidential election results were announced and it became known that there will be a second round.

The future president will need the broad support of the people, Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev believes, because the decisive steps on the road to reform still lie ahead and will inevitably be accompanied by high social tension.

Dr. Zhelev once again rejected nationalism and described it as "the last sanctuary of communism." He believes that the Vulkanov-Vodenicharov team—supported by the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP]—which polled 30 percent of the vote, interprets the national problem one-sidedly and stakes on its card alone.

At a press conference last night Mr. Vulkanov said that he does not consider himself a nationalist by proclaiming the Movement for Rights and Freedoms an anticonstitutional party. He also said that there are people and political forces outside the BSP that support him. At the second round he will rely on the votes of those dissatisfied with the policy of the incumbent president which he estimates at about 22 percent.

Though Mr. Vulkanov considers himself an independent candidate he will rely entirely on the electorate of the Bulgarian Socialist Party. If he becomes president he will not Bulgarize the names of the ethnoses in Bulgaria.

At his first press conference Mr. George Ganchev (who polled 18 percent of the vote in the first round) said that he would not transfer his vote to another candidate but will call the electors to be guided by their conscience.

Poll Results Indicate Low Turnout

AU1301125592 Sofia BTA in English 1201 GMT 13 Jan 92

[Text] Sofia, January 13 (BTA)—Less and less Bulgarians go to the polling stations, according to the results of yesterday's presidential elections. Only 75 percent of all qualified voters cast their ballots. The turnout at the October 13 general elections was 80 percent and at the first free democratic elections following Todor Zhivkov's ouster from power—91 percent.

However, it was not the lighter poll that led to the second round. The 21 presidential contenders and particularly the colourful George Ganchev managed to peel votes from incumbent President Zhelyu Zhelev thus bringing about a second round. The first television commentaries last night focused mainly on the weaknesses of the country's electoral law. Voices were raised that certain electoral qualifications should be introduced.

By noon the Central Electoral Commission processed 90 percent of the tally sheets which showed that the Zhelyu Zhelev-Blaga Dimitrova team leads with 44.81 percent of the vote. Next come the Velko Vulkanov-Rumen Vodenicharov team (supported by the Socialists) who won 30.3 percent, and the George Ganchev-Petur Beron team (16.8 percent). The only other team that managed to clear the 1 percent barrier, the independent candidates Blagovest Sendov and Ognyan Saparev, polled 2.21 percent.

According to vote tabulations, Zhelev and Dimitrova won the highest percentage of votes (73) in Kurdzhali (one of Bulgaria's mixed-population regions). At last year's general elections in the region the Union of Democratic Forces won 5.6 percent of the vote and the Movement for Rights and Freedoms led by Ahmed Dogan—65 percent. Vulkanov and Vodenicharov received the highest percentage of votes in Turgovishte (56) and in the regions of Vidin (45), Mikhailovgrad (40) and Vratsa (42) which voted socialist in the parliamentary elections last year.

Ganchev's Popularity Analyzed

AU1301125792 Sofia BTA in English 1208 GMT 13 Jan 92

[Panayot Denev report: "Why George Ganchev?"]

[Text] Sofia, January 13 (BTA)—The 16 or 17 percent of the vote unexpectedly polled by Bulgaria's one time fencing champion Georgi Petrushev, also known as George Ganchev, or as George the Epee in still more intimate circles, was the most striking illustration of the current situation in Bulgaria at yesterday's presidential elections.

The candidate of the "blue" Union of Democratic Forces and incumbent president, the doctor of philosophy Zhelyu Zhelev, and jurist Velko Vulkanov, who proclaimed himself independent but who is actually supported by all means only by the Socialist, ex-Communist, Party, failed to get a single vote from the 25 percent of the votes which at the parliamentary elections three months ago were scattered among parties which failed to clear the 4 percent barrier. That is why before the second round of the presidential elections to be held on Sunday the most important question is: Who were the people that voted for Georgi Petrushev (Ganchev)?

These were people who hate communism but at the same time are extremely suspicious of all who have something to do with power. These people, citizens of a poor country, totally devastated by the communist mafia, have few and quite down to earth dreams: To make some money without great effort so that they too may live "decently," to fool the state which—totalitarian or democratic—stands in their way, to go to Istanbul and buy some cheap but flashy things, to go to Munich and buy themselves an old dilapidated but western-make car.... It is difficult to speak of high ideals in poverty-ridden Bulgaria, which lived in complete isolation from the world for almost half a century. These people realize that George the Epee's candidature for president is ridiculous and not serious. But by casting his ballot paper they took revenge on power. Because in their eyes power is never just and honest. They learnt this in the years they lived in the socialist concentration camp and before that too and are incapable of believing anything else. They like "George the Epee" because he is tall, amiable, according to the Balkan standards, because he has lived in America, because he says he has his own island in the Aegean, because he drives a western car, because he always wears patent leather shoes and a well-tailored suit, because he is an expert in telling tall stories and because he looks like a man who could easily pay a large bill at the most expensive restaurant of the Sheraton chain.

Most probably a large part of those who voted for "George the Epee" yesterday will not vote next Sunday [19 January]. 4 or 5 percent will go back to their Socialist Party and vote for Vulkanov and 2 or 3 percent will cast their votes for Dr. Zhelev. Then, if more than 50 percent of the electors vote, Dr. Zhelev will become the president of one of Europe's poorest and most backward countries.

Interior Minister Explains Staff Dismissals

AU0901203992 Sofia BTA in English 1906 GMT 9 Jan 92

[Text] Sofia, January 9 (BTA)—At a press conference today Minister of the Interior Mr. Yordan Sokolov stated again that the dismissal of 81 of the ministry's employees has nothing to do with political motives. Two of them left on their own will, 51 are pensioners and 28 took an active part in the forcible change of ethnic Turks' names. The ministry's staff needed renovation, as some of the employees were involved in economic crimes and connections with the emerging mafia, Mr. Sokolov explained. Corruption is widely spread, especially at the border check-points, he added. A family from Kurdzhali

recently tried to cross the border with 10 railroad cars full of "luggage" and was stopped at the very last moment.

BSP Congress Issues Policy, Security Resolution

AU0701180792 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 29 Dec 91 p 5

["Resolution on National Policy and National Security" adopted in Sofia on 16 December by the 40th BSP Congress]

[Text] After 10 November 1989, the Bulgarian Socialists answered many questions related to the party's attitude toward nationality problems in the past. The Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] correctly assessed the responsibility of the Bulgarian Communist Party in complicating the nationality and ethnic problem and denounced and rejected the distortions and the methods through which the distortions were implemented.

Today, the BSP is among those political forces that consistently follow the line of national agreement and unity, limiting and stopping the erosion of national awareness, and consolidating the Bulgarian nation.

1. The Bulgarian Socialists categorically reject the actions of the Movement for Rights and Freedoms, which strengthen ethnic isolation and division. Channels have been created for the inflow of foreign speculation capital into the regions with mixed populations. By concentrating municipal power in the hands of a single ethnic party, conditions that combined creeping economic isolation with political isolation were created. With its first steps, the government of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] formed the basis for this isolation and the educational-cultural separation of those regions. Efforts to Turkisize the Bulgarian Muslims through Islamization and instill non-Bulgarian awareness into the population of the Pirin region could be observed. The BSP rejects this policy and stresses its readiness to actively continue work to combine universally recognized personal rights and freedoms with guaranteeing the stability of the Bulgarian state and the calm development of the nation.

2. The change in the policy of the Bulgarian Socialists on the nationality problem is convincingly confirmed by its position on the independence of the Yugoslav republics. We will support the right to self-determination in the future, too. However, we will oppose attempts to divide the Bulgarian nation and rob it of its national history and culture under the banner of Macedonism. The disputed issues must be resolved through calm and tolerant discussion and by being open about the results.

3. The BSP supports the protection of the civic rights and freedoms of all Bulgarians who live in close-knit groups in neighboring and distant states, and the strengthening of their intellectual unity with the Bulgarian nation. The BSP will continue to champion the protection and development of our national traditions and the restoration of the strongly violated national dignity of Bulgarian citizens.

Positively assessing the efforts of all interested institutions in democratizing the national security system, the BSP shares its concern and the concern of broad circles of society over certain unfavorable phenomena and tendencies related to the national security of the Republic of Bulgaria.

—The BSP decisively rejects the incompetence and irresponsible interference of the SDS with the activity of the security organs. Under the slogan of "totally changing the system" and without noting the specific requirements of national security, many ill-advised experiments were conducted in important state structures and organs. Changes were implemented in the court, the Prosecutor's Office, and the organs of law and order that violated the unity of their actions. Manifestations of indecisiveness and political bias in their activity and leadership actually favor the avalanche-like growth of crime and corruption. Plans to carry out similar actions in the Bulgarian Army have been declared.

—The present government is guilty of missing the favorable opportunity of putting an end to satellite-like Bulgarian foreign policy, which was subjected to ideologization. The executive power assumes many foreign policy commitments that commit our country, without our supreme legislative organ—the National Assembly—determining the priorities of our foreign policy.

The BSP confirms its understanding that the issues related to the country's foreign policy orientation, its national security and national policy can be resolved only on the basis of national agreement and the principles of a national military doctrine that fully corresponds to the present realities in the world, Europe, and the Balkans.

BSP Congress Adopts Address to Trade Unions

AU0701192092 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 29 Dec 91 p 5

["Address of the 40th BSP Congress to the Trade Unions," adopted in Sofia on 16 December by the 40th BSP Congress]

[Text] Under the conditions of declining production and social insecurity, the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] and its members and supporters express their readiness to cooperate with all trade union organizations in the name of truly defending the working people's economic and social interests.

Since the day it was established, the BSP has been closely connected with the ideas of the trade union movement. Throughout its 100-year course, the party accumulated

much practical experience and many valuable traditions. Let us use the best elements. If we do not unite our efforts today, we will allow a severe blow to be dealt to the possibility of defending working people's interests.

The congress appeals to the newly elected party organs and the BSP parliamentarians to adopt the necessary and possible steps for coordinating practical policy and legislating activity with the trade unions, both in the center and at the municipal level. The parliamentary faction must coordinate the draft laws on privatization, on employment, the new labor legislation, and the draft laws related to social protection with all trade union organizations interested in such coordination.

The congress appeals to all trade union centers and organizations to cooperate, through trade union channels, with the Parliamentary Union for Social Democracy in working out and defending laws that correspond to the interests of millions of trade union members.

The goals related to the prosperity of the Bulgarian people are common. What you want to achieve through trade union means, we want to achieve through political activity.

Let each assume his share in the responsibility for the fate of the working people. We assume our share.

The BSP shares the concern of the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria and supports its just demands in defense of the working people's interests, expressed in the confederation's recent declarations.

Trade union members, we can all work together to resolve Bulgaria's problems!

Government, KNSB Differ on Effect of Strike

AU0901081392 Sofia BTA in English 2219 GMT 8 Jan 92

[Text] Sofia, January 8 (BTA)—Today the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions (KNSB) called a nation-wide strike. The KNSB first announced its intentions to conduct a strike on December 11 when it demanded higher wages and pensions and insisted that the government work out a programme for combating unemployment and for safeguarding the interests of the working people in the privatization process.

The reports of the KNSB and the government as to the number of strikers are contradictory.

Mrs. Diyana Damyanova, the KNSB spokeswoman said that 770,000 KNSB members had gone out on strike by noon. 270,000 of them staged an effective strike. However, they stopped working for no more than three hours.

According to the government, 100,000 workers went out on an effective strike and 230,000—on a token strike. Political demands were raised alongside trade-union ones.

The Podkrepa Labour Confederation, the other influential trade union, argues that no more than 10,000 people joined the KNSB strike. According to Podkrepa, the strike was a flop.

The Press Centre of the Ministry of Transport said that the strike did not disrupt transport services.

The government has not yet considered the results of the strike. The spokeswoman for the government said that the government is ready to open talks with the trade unions. She stressed, however, that the government will not allow the trade unions to partake of the executive power.

There was a mass protest rally of pensioners in Sofia today. In a special message to the government they demanded that a flexible system for adjusting pensions for inflation be worked out. "Resignation" and "We are hungry," chanted the pensioners gathered on Aleksandur Nevski Square. Later on, they proceeded to the Council of Ministers building where they demanded the resignation of the government and the president.

Prof. Krustyo Petkov, KNSB leader, told the national television that he condemns those who called for the resignation of the government and the president. "The strike is not a political one," he stressed. Mr. Petkov repeated a statement made earlier today that the strike is an enormous success. Mr. Ivan Kostov, minister of finance, however, disagreed. "The strike was a far cry from what was initially planned," Mr. Kostov said on the national television. According to government data, only 8 percent of Bulgaria's workers joined the strike. "The failed attempt to violate the agreement we have reached earlier gives us every reason to believe that those who did not join the strike actually expressed their support for the government," Mr. Kostov said.

Mr. Kostov said that the government is ready to discuss the existing problems with the trade unions. "Trying to solve the problems, we provoke conflicts. People will continue to take out to the streets to express their protest. Everybody has the right to do so. On our part, we preserve the right to look calmly on all forms of protest," he said.

At a meeting with voters in the city of Varna President Zhelev described the strike as "untimely, unreasonable and practically harmful in view of the forthcoming presidential elections."

Havel Discusses Political Contacts, Constitution

LD1201162392 Prague Stanice Ceskoslovensko Radio Network in Czech 1315 GMT 12 Jan 92

[Interview with CSFR President Vaclav Havel by station editor Stanislava Dufkova at Stary Smokevec on 10 January: "Conversations at Lany"—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Dufkova] [passage omitted] Mr. President, what do you say to the view that many matters would be simplified if you included in your activity regular meetings with political parties and did not listen only to the Civic Movement?

[Havel] Look, I naturally maintain contacts with political parties. I did so and will continue to. I have been reproached because I recently put forward certain legislative initiatives to the parliament without consulting political parties beforehand. I have an impression that this is an unjust accusation. I talked about issues concerning our constitutional arrangements and about all those matters that subsequently formed the content of my proposals with political parties for a year. These are matters that were discussed a million times. It is therefore not true that I do not consult political parties.

Of course, when it appeared to me that the supreme moment had arrived, five minutes to midnight, so to speak, I felt it my duty to put forward certain proposals, because there was a danger if they were delayed. Had I decided to consult once again with the political parties on all these things, the matter would have been delayed by at least two weeks, and the question was whether the Federal Assembly would have been able to discuss these legislative initiatives within the period during which they had to be debated if the election was to take place on the proper date. At that time I had to act. I had already exhausted all my possibilities.

For a year I was accused by the press of holding meetings with various politicians behind closed doors. They even called it the secret government. I was accused of holding meetings behind closed doors in various castles, cottages, and the like, and of plotting things without the participation of the public. However, as soon as I reached the view that one could not go on like this, that it was necessary to open these issues on the floor of the parliament, I was then accused of the opposite, of not holding consultations with political parties.

I try to be a president. I would not like to say above the party, for that would look as though I were elevating myself above the rest. I would rather say a nonparty president, or a president outside any party. This is not because the law or the constitution prescribes this for me, but because I have made such a decision. It is necessary to clearly state this once and for all. It is neither written in the constitution nor anywehere else that a president cannot be a member of a party. If I joined a party tomorrow and started campaigning for it in the run up to the election, I would not be breaking any law. If I do not, and I will not do this, then it is my own decision because I know that such an extra-party role for the president belongs to the traditions of Czechoslovak parliamentary democracy.

It appears to me that the task of a president in our situation is to play a certain integrating role, strive to create scope for a dialogue and consensus, talk to everyone, and avoid identifying oneself with any specific political force. I first have to say that this is my decision, and not an order, as people sometimes think.

Second, there are many people in the Civic Movement whom I already know from the previous period, from the years of our joint work in the opposition, and who are my friends. However, I also have friends in other political parties. Moreover, if I have a friend elsewhere, it does not mean that I always share the same views with him. Vaclav Benda is one of my sharpest critics. Every other day I read something against me but he, too, is my friend. Therefore the fact itself that I have more friends in the Civic Movement than in others does not mean that I identify myself somewhat with the Civic Movement or that I have joined it or that I campaign for it, and so on.

I really try not to identify myself with any political party. In any case no one has cited many concrete arguments that I support the Civic Movement in a special way to the detriment of other parties. In fact I have read only one argument, which came moreover from the mouth of the same Vaclav Benda, and it is that I released one employee from my office, Mr. Gabal, because he received an offer or was asked by the Civic Movement to become the chairman of the election commission and he therefore asked to be released from employment in Prague Castle, where he worked in the analytical section, and his request was granted. From this it was concluded that I support the Civic Movement. If this accusation is based on this kind of an argument, you will surely recognize that it is based on a sandcastle. [passage omitted]

Perhaps I could mention two or three objections against my electorate bill. One of them is, for instance, that it gives a preference to personalities and pushes political parties into the background. [passage omitted] It is held against me that in a way I intend to push natural political formations of people sharing their views—i.e. political parties—and their political programs into the background and to open space for those eccentrics, those personalities, who create chaos. This is simply rubbish. The point is that candidates in the election will be of course put forward by political parties; by whom else? [passage omitted] They are going to represent political programs; what else? The difference is that candidates must be capable of explaining their programs and defending them face to face with their electorate. This is the point of my electorate bill. [passage omitted]

What is, in my view, of no less importance is that somebody is held responsible for fulfilling those programs. Let us pay attention to what were the programs of

those parties which are currently in the parliament and what they are doing now! Not a single one sticks to its program. [passage omitted]

I would conclude by pointing out that this proposal is not aimed against political parties and their programs, but aimed at compelling people to guarantee those programs. [passage omitted]

[Dufkova] Mr. President, imagine that the parliament does not approve any of your proposals. Would this not signify a big political defeat, which in turn would be the reason for you not to stand again next time, or even to resign?

[Havel] Look, I do not perceive politics as a tennis or table tennis game. I do not measure my successes by the number of proposals which the parliament will either pass or not. I do not take these things personally at all. My concern is to insure that the parliament approves good laws in a good time which will insure an orderly running of this state. These laws can be totally different from those I proposed. It is not a personal matter at all. It is not a matter of personal prestige. It is a matter of principle. If I were to resign every time the parliament does not pass my proposals, I would have had to resign at least 10 times.

Remember, our republic is called differently from what I proposed it should be called. The state emblem is different from the one I proposed. This, after all, does not mean that it is a worse one, or that this was my political defeat. A proposal is a challenge to work on it further, to examine it and the like. I could cite many other instances when the parliament redrafted my proposals. They made them either worse or, on the contrary, improved on them. I truly do not take these matters personally as a matter of prestige. And if I were to resign or if I were to refuse to stand again, provided someone proposed me as a candidate to the presidential office, then I would have to have totally different and far more serious reasons than whether so many of my proposals get through the parliament.

Back to my proposals. I have explained their purpose on a number of occasions. A long time ago I took as my priority doing everything to ensure that this country had a constitution by the time of the election. Voices have now been heard saying that it is not written anywhere that the constitution should be finished by the time of the election during this parliament's turn of office. All parties or the majority of them have had it written in their election programs, and therefore they should not say that it is not written anywhere, because it is. And therefore I have taken it upon myself, and a year ago I submitted my working draft of the federal constitution. I set up an endless series of meetings about our constitutional setup. In December, when I felt that matters were becoming acute and that parliaments were beginning to split, that there was a danger of a constitutional crisis occurring, that the election was approaching, and that it had to be held and moreover that it had to be held for new federal representative bodies. I submitted my proposals and their purpose is to insure the constitutional running of this country and pave the way for drafting the new constitution.

If this is attained, if the constitutional crisis is prevented, if we manage to draw up a new constitution, in that case I personally will view it not as a defeat but as a victory, regardless of the form in which it will be adopted. Let us hope it will be adopted in a reasonable and good form; but it need not necessarily be the one I put forward. The important thing is that the process has begun, that the parliament has begun to discuss this issue. [passage omitted]

Dienstbier Examines CIS, Political Situation

AU0901170292 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 30 Dec 91 pp 1, 3

[Interview with CSFR Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier by Vaclav Bervida and Robert Dengler; place and date not given: "No One Will Protect Us From Our Own Stupidity"]

[Text] We came to see Jiri Dienstbier to interview him on both his functions [as foreign minister and Civic Movement chairman]. Our interview was interrupted by an encrypted phone call from his Polish counterpart in Warsaw. "I can hear only mumbling," complained our host about the technological relic of the former Warsaw Pact and asked the secretary to connect him with Poland through normal, nonsecure lines. In a certain sense, this was an illustration of the difficulties of the transitional period.

[RUDE PRAVO] Apart from providing opportunities, the association treaty with the EC also sets obligations for the CSFR. What obligations must be fulfilled first?

[Dienstbier] The issue is not which obligation the CSFR must fulfill immediately and which it must fulfill in a short time. For a longer period of time, we will have an asymmetric advantage in trade, but this does not mean that our goods will get on the EC markets automatically. We will have to adjust the quality of our goods to the demand on those markets. We are exposing ourselves to international pressure for higher quality and efficiency.

[RUDE PRAVO] What about the legal aspect?

[Dienstbier] This basically means that we will have to continue what we have started. We must adjust our entire legal system to the EC system, and not just the EC system. Actually, we have to rebuild a civilized legal system.

[RUDE PRAVO] Let us turn our attention to the East. Is it anticipated that the treaty that we were to sign originally with the USSR will be replaced by similar documents signed with all the successor states, or only with a new center, if there is one?

[Dienstbier] We have recognized Russia as the successor to the former Soviet Union in international organizations, including the United Nations and the Security Council. It is not necessary to recognize Russia in any other manner. Russia has been in existence for centuries. Our ambassador to Moscow has become ambassador to the Russian Federation. The government has recognized the Ukraine and Belarus, and we are prepared to recognize other states as well. With some of them we are discussing conditions applying to our relations, treaties, and diplomatic relations. We are happy that the change is being made peacefully. This is promising, particularly in comparison to Yugoslavia.

[RUDE PRAVO] There will be a meeting of CSCE ministers in Prague in January. Pan-European security mechanisms, and Europe itself, were criticized last year, mainly because of Yugoslavia. What is your evaluation of the efficiency of the Helsinki process from the security point of view?

[Dienstbier] This process is only starting in the security sphere. I believe that much has been done in a short time, however, and that we should continue in this fashion. It may take decades, however, before an efficient security system, not a military system, is created. Relations between European countries may well be similar to those, for instance, between France and Germany. The Helsinki process does not mean establishing military institutions. Naturally, in a certain phase [military] units should exist for the event of unexpected conflicts. We have to account for all possibilities. For the time being we are not threatened, but if we were, we would have to build such security guarantees—for example with NATO or the West European Union—as to be able to appeal to someone.

[RUDE PRAVO] Do you believe it is likely that such guarantees could be granted relatively soon?

[Dienstbier] This really depends mostly on the development east and southeast of our country, and on the development in the CSFR, too. If our country were to fall apart, then we would find ourselves in a zone of instability and we would help create this instability. On the other hand, as a reliable common state we will radiate stability into our milieu.

[RUDE PRAVO] Not so long ago, you rejected claims from Bavarian and Sudeten-German circles demanding "improvement" of the CSFR-German treaty. Some aspects which the treaty does not apply to can be solved by parliamentary resolutions. Are you not afraid that the German side could proceed in this manner to meet the demands of the Sudeten-Germans?

[Dienstbier] Parliamentary resolutions are unilateral declarations that have nothing to do with the treaty. By concluding a treaty, two countries are assuming obligations toward one another. The way that a third party interprets the treaty is not binding on these countries, because they are the ones who must adhere to the treaty.

[RUDE PRAVO] Sudeten-Germans demand, for example, that the resettled Germans should have the right to settle in our country and to claim property even before we join the EC, that is, before the free movement of people is introduced.

[Dienstbier] In a letter accompanying the treaty, it is clearly stated that this possibility will arise along with the implementation of European treaties. This applies to every foreigner and to our people who will want to live or work abroad. This has nothing to do with the Sudeten-German problem.

[RUDE PRAVO] We can see efforts to improve the treaty in our country, among the deputies, for example. What is your opinion of the objections against the term "expulsion?"

[Dienstbier] These demands are unreasonable. Indeed, if you read the treaty objectively, you will find that 99 percent of the text is noncontroversial. Only details are being discussed, and emotions often obscure the meaning of the text. The emotionally loaded, moral and political term "expulsion" was used quite intentionally in order to avoid any official legal term and to avoid doubts about our intentions regarding international legal documents. Moreover, the relevant sentence does not speak about expulsion, but it clearly states that war, violence, expulsion, and injustice must not be remedied by inflicting another injustice. Therefore, the countries assume the obligation of not demanding anything that would create further injustice.

Some people argue that the term "expulsion" could lead to some property claims. The accompanying letter, however, states that the treaty does not deal with property issues. This sentence is not only given in a negative form but in the positive form as well. From this sentence it follows that no one may raise property claims while referring to the treaty.

[RUDE PRAVO] What investment opportunities do the resettled Germans have in our country?

[Dienstbier] You should ask the privatization minister. So far, the general rules governing the activities of foreign investors are still valid. The problem may lie in the fact that our people are selling their own houses for ridiculously low prices to foreigners, including Germans, through third parties, without realizing the fact that foreigners would have to pay 10 times more for the same house in their own country. No one, and no treaty, will protect us from our own stupidity.

[RUDE PRAVO] We have heard the opinion that political parties do not have programs for significant support to the middle class. What can the Civic Movement say to that?

[Dienstbier] I say [as the Civic Movement chairman], as I have as a government official, that we have been stressing since the very beginning the importance of support to small- and medium-sized businesses and

calling for this support whenever I am abroad. The Civic Forum is in contact with representatives of the Association of Czechoslovak Entrepreneurs. Recently we agreed that they would give me their suggestions for negotiations before I go abroad. A balanced mixture of domestic and foreign capital is in our own interest. It should be clear that our modest amount of capital cannot manage all that. We want to become a part of the international economy, however, and not a branch of one country or several companies. This is why the Civic Movement and the governments support the largest possible diversification of capital. Sometimes our partners reproach us for not letting foreign investors in, but I am constantly explaining that everyone has equal opportunities. If someone wants to wait until normal conditions are restored then he may be disappointed, since by that time all the opportunities may have been seized by less timid investors.

[RUDE PRAVO] Public opinion polls rank the Civic Movement among the underdogs in the elections. We have just learned that you are holding coalition talks with Jiri Kotas, for instance.

[Dienstbier] Above all, I am convinced that the Civic Forum will not be an underdog. Indeed, we have not begun to campaign yet! Our intention was to work in a businesslike manner as long as possible and to start the campaign in due course. This will not be possible, however. Some parties have been campaigning for about nine months. Of course, we would prefer to devote the greatest part of our energy to our full-time jobs, but we will have to vigorously begin campaigning in February or March. Of course, we are holding talks with various groups, organizations, and parties. Above all, we are trying to unite the proponents of fundamental reform of this society, proponents who retained democratic natures.

It is not enough for fundamental reform to just be part of a campaign platform. After the social experiment that interrupted the 1,000 years of development and ended in a catastrophe, this reform is simply essential. We must adopt reasonable policies in order to avoid introducing new ideologies which are equally extreme from the other end of the spectrum. This applies to all spheres—the economy, politics, ecology, and human rights. We have to know that reform benefits the people, and should not be used for implementing some abstract ideas. Reform must be, so to speak, socially acceptable. People should know that it will cost them something, yet it is not reform which is to blame, but the previous management. They have to see a better future ahead and know that we count on them, that they are not pawns who will simply fall off the board when the competition becomes fierce.

[RUDE PRAVO] What would you say to the opinion that the philosophy of your party is quite uncomprehensible to the people?

[Dienstbier] We cannot reduce politics to a few demagogic slogans. Many are convinced that this is to our disadvantage. Yet, I am convinced that we are educated and civilized people, and maybe wiser than the richer nations who are more developed technologically. That is, people may more greatly appreciate the fact that we are dealing with all the complexities of life and do not chant cheap slogans which are clearly unrealistic. The Civic Movement is trying to prevent a terrible split in society, a division into the right and the left, and avoid a demagogic election campaign. We hope that we will be able to win all reasonable, tolerant, and democratic forces and gather them on one side against extremism of any kind.

[RUDE PRAVO] The Civic Movement is reportedly going to establish its own paper.

[Dienstbier] It is likely that we will issue some kind of election leaflet in February.

[RUDE PRAVO] Vaclav Klaus described the Civic Movement as his election adversary. What is the Civic Democratic Party to you?

[Dienstbier] The Civic Democratic Party was established when the militant right split from the Civic Forum, and now is looking for its own identity. This party has reasonable people who are concerned with serious work. There are also extremist forces, however, that prefer fighting with the past to building the country. I want to believe that the Civic Democratic Party will develop into a decent, democratic rightist party that will maintain its place in the political spectrum. I believe that our pressure may help create tolerant attitudes and positively influence developments in other political entities.

[RUDE PRAVO] In your opinion, why was Section 260 of the Criminal Code passed in parliament?

[Dienstbier] Extremists played their role, of course. Yet, there was some kind of disorganization [desorganizace] and misunderstanding. Most deputies do not realize today that a mistake has happened, to put it mildly. In my opinion, the law should not mention the words communism and fascism. What kind [of fascism] do we mean? Italian? German national socialism, which was never considered fascism anyway? This word is used as an ideological insult. Actions should be punished, not ideologies or religions. In a possible amendment to this section it should be stated that propagation of any national, religious, racial, class, or any other supremacy or efforts to achieve such supremacy are punishable. The existing wording can be interpreted quite arbitrarily.

[RUDE PRAVO] Do the lists of State Security agents pose a threat to you at the Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs?

[Dienstbier] I am not afraid of them. First, I did not wait until the screening law was passed and I dismissed all discredited people last year. Second, the names of many people are being published, and this is not decent. If the deputies who voluntarily gave up their mandates were

entitled to discretion, then minor officials should have the same right. It is well-known that I do not agree with the screening law, because it violates the principle of every case being judged individually. This does not serve to improve political culture. However, I am implementing this law consistently. The law was passed and it would not contribute to political culture if we did not obey laws that we do not like.

Third, apart from the illegal copies of State Security files, ungrounded reports by anonymous writers are also quite frequently being spread. Innocent people and their families cannot escape this pogromist atmosphere. Not to mention the fact that the prosecution of families, if one of their members falters, should remain only the practice of the former regime.

Attacks against the ministry are absolutely unfounded. In very few places were the personnel changes so profound—45 percent of people left the ministry. According to one estimate, the ministry's efficiency is five times greater than in the past. Foreign policy is praised highly in the public opinion polls. What is involved here? Foreign policy, or something else?

[RUDE PRAVO] Does your ministerial work not hamper your time-consuming function as the Civic Movement chairman?

[Dienstbier] I am not the only one who must serve in many roles. Every role today is much more time consuming, since we must catch up with what West Europe took 40 years to develop peacefully. At the same time, we must repair the damages done in the past. All this must be done while there is a shortage of experienced and qualified people. To put it bluntly, we are in the year one: We must press on and cope with it.

Jurisdiction Shift in Nuclear Plant Protection

AU0901191892 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 3 Jan 92 p 16

["ert"-signed report: Midnight Change of the Guard"]

[Text] Prague—With the first hour of the new year, the internal watch at the Czechoslovak nuclear power plants passed from the jurisdiction of the Federal Police to that of the republic police corps. The change was discussed and adopted at the last December session of the State Defense Council. The Czech Interior Ministry, however, has not been officially informed about it, and learned of the "changing of the guard" only accidentally. The shift occurred without any previous preparations, literally, just a few hours before midnight. There was an unconfirmed report Wednesday [1 January], which we managed to verify from our own sources yesterday and confirm the following:

The State Defense Council agreed to the solution according to which the internal watch at nuclear power plants would be assured by the police corps of the Czech and Slovak Republics until a new legislative measure is passed. This state of affairs will be in effect until a law is adopted that will make it possible to pass the internal watch at nuclear power plants to civilian security services.

The State Defense Council decision has been provided to neither the republic governments nor the republic defense councils. The Czech Interior Ministry received the information about the change in jurisdiction accidentally and from unofficial sources. After a extraordinary effort to obtain the details of the decision, an extraordinary meeting of the Czech Government Presidium was called on 31 December. A report was provided regarding the decision.

According to the Federal Ministry of the Interior, a notice of the agreement to terminate the federal watch at nuclear power plants was given on 30 December. It is very likely that the law on power division is behind this act. As Engineer Dusan Plavjanik, head of the director's secretariat at the Dukovany nuclear power plant, told us, in Dukovany the jurisdiction shift took place without any problems but at the last moment. The same policemen remained in the watch team, but they were transferred to the jurisdiction of the Czech Republic Interior Ministry.

Czech Justice Minister Comments on Rehabilitation

AU0901175992 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 8 Jan 92 p 3

["(st)"-signed report: "The Minister's Confession"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] When recapitulating his activity at the Ministry of Justice at a news conference yesterday, Czech Minister of Justice Leon Richter said, among other things, that 202,295 people were rehabilitated. However, we are not able to award compensation for damages with the same speed. So far, the ministry has received 37,805 such claims, of which only 7,374 have been settled. A total of 568 million korunas has been paid out. The number of people dealing with these claims rose to 93, reaching the number of people previously employed by the entire ministry.

From what he said it follows that commercial courts are burdened with almost 200,000 unsettled cases that the courts have taken over from the Arbitration Office.

Railroads Forced To Limit Traffic, Close Lines

AU0901210692 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 8 Jan 92 p 2

["r"-signed report: "The First 20; Operation of Some Railroad Lines Terminated"]

[Excerpts] Prague— The Czechoslovak State Railroads' [CSD] unbalanced budget for this year (9 billion korunas

are missing) will make it necessary to limit passenger traffic 10-15 percent. In addition, the CSD Directorate decided, on the basis of recommendations from regional directorates, to terminate the operation of the 20 most loss-making routes. According to the CSD, these measures should bring in savings of 1 billion korunas. [passage omitted]

Should these steps fail to yield the expected financial results, it will be necessary to terminate, as of the end of September, the operation of an additional 120 routes, which should help save 2 billion korunas. It cannot be ruled out, however, that another marked reduction in railroad traffic will have to be implemented toward the end of 1992, if the CSD's insolvency gets worse.

Spokesman Denies Responsibility for EC Downing

LD1001141292 Budapest MTI in English 1333 GMT 10 Jan 92

[Text] Budapest, January 10 (MTI)—Hungarian air traffic control is not responsible for the EC helicopter shot down by Yugoslav federal forces on Tuesday [7 January], a Hungarian Government spokesman said, denying Yugoslav charges today.

At a request by an EC observer mission in Zagreb, Hungary issued a protocol on 4 October 1991, consenting to EC observer flights between Belgrade and Zagreb using Hungary's airspace, to avoid especially dangerous Yugoslav regions, the spokesman said, adding EC aircraft had permission to land in Kaposujlak (S. Hungary) to get fuel.

According to the protocol, Hungary is responsible for guaranteeing the aircraft's safety in the country's airspace and for services during the stopover in Kaposujlak.

Guidelines for the EC using Yugoslav airspace have been set by agreements between the Community and Yugoslav authorities, the spokesman said.

Regular flights have been conducted by the EC under set conditions along the same route over the past few months.

The EC helicopter that was later shot down by Yugoslav federal air force in Yugoslav airspace 7 January 1992, had left Hungary's airspace without any problems, the spokesman said.

The helicopter was flying along the Kelebia-Letenye route, stopping in Kaposujlak. Visibility was good, and the aircraft bore blue EC markings against a white background.

Katona Denies Serbian Claims on Training Camps

LD1201062292 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1700 GMT 11 Jan 92

[Text] In Budapest they have again denied Serb accusations that Hungary has been standing on the side of Croatia in the Yugoslav civil war. Tamas Katona, state secretary for foreign affairs, reaffirmed that there are no training camps in Hungary for Croatian soliders and that our air force has not carried out border violations either.

The Hungarian state secretary for foreign affairs recalled that Budapest has made many gestures toward Belgrade. Thus, for example, Serbia is able to use Hungarian telephone lines, railway lines, as well as highways without hindrance, and moreover, Serb planes can fly safely to Europe through our airspace. Tamas Katona also reaffirmed that Hungary will in the future strive for good relations with Serbia and in exchange it expects the same from Belgrade.

Smuggled Mercury Reportedly From Georgia

LD1001182192 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1700 GMT 10 Jan 92

[Excerpt] The approximately two kg of material called red mercury [mercury iodide]—Milan authorities have arrested three Hungarians and an Austrian in its smuggling—probably came from a military technology plant in Georgia. This was stated by an Italian prosecutor investigating the affair. As he said, the material is needed in the Soviet technology for manufacturing nuclear weapons. The technology has aroused the interest, especially of those Third World countries wanting nuclear weapons, because it is an easier technology than the Western one. Therefore, in the view of the Milanese prosecutor, the affair is a danger for the whole of mankind.

Meanwhile, the representative of the Hungarian police said that, so far, they have not received a reply from Italian police as to what kind of materials have really been found on the three detained Hungarians. According to Laszlo Tornhauzer, the police have never come across mercury iodide before.

Army Redeployment To Strengthen Character

LD1001181492 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1700 GMT 10 Jan 92

[Text] Redeployment is to begin in order to strengthen the defense character of the Hungarian Army. This will affect a few garrison troops, the Ministry of Defense spokesman [Keleti] said. According to the annual training plan, they will transfer some subordinate units which are engaged in air defense, reconnaissance, chemical warfare defense, or repairs.

Gyorgy Keleti denyed allegations that the governments plans to temporarily extend the duration of service for conscripts, due to the Yugoslav situation.

Walesa Reduces Chancellery Budget, Staff

LD1001193892 Warsaw PAP in English 1813 GMT 10 Jan 92

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 10—President Lech Walesa reduced the budget planned for his own Chancellery in 1992 by 8 billion zlotys (about 700 thousand U.S. dollars) and cut the Chancellery staff from 250 to 200 persons, acting chief of the Presidential Chancellery Janusz Ziolkowski said at Friday's [10 January] meeting of the Sejm Committee for Administration and Internal Affairs.

The committee also adopted a draft interim budget of the Internal Ministry because rejecting it would jeopardize the security of the state.

Internal Minister Antoni Macierewicz told the committee that the earmarked 2.5 billion zlotys (about 217 thousand dollars) will not improve security where needs go to 3.7 billion (322 thousand dollars) but rejection of the provisional budget would be even worse.

Asked about the candidacy of Senator Andrzej Celinski for the vacant position of head of the Presidential Chancellery, spokesman Andrzej Drzycimski said that talks had been held with the senator last year but they were inconclusive.

Walesa Interviewed on Domestic Issues

LD1101120692 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 0706 GMT 11 Jan 92

[Interview with President Lech Walesa by Andrzej Jelenski; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Jelenski] Good morning, Mr. President. Welcome on behalf of Radio One listeners.

In a recent poll, President Lech Walesa was said to be the most effective Polish politician of 1991. There was no confirmation of the views of opponents who see Lech Walesa's presidency as a threat to democracy and Polish reforms. The first year of the presidency was marked by surprising decisions—made in an unconventional way to boot. Opinions as to the unpredictability of President Lech Walesa were confirmed.

[Walesa] I do not agree with such views. The question for me is: How do we measure effectiveness? I suggested to society—in their perception of me—that I am constantly searching, constantly trying to do something—and of course, ten or twenty attempts out of a thousand succeed. This is because I am trying not just to occupy my office, but I am trying to get the most matters possible settled, seeing the enormous number that are waiting. Despite everything, this has been noticed, has been perceived. That is gratifying. On the other hand, in general, I am not satisfied with my own effectiveness, not to speak of other people's.

[Jelenski] How do you assess the suggested unpredictability of President Lech Walesa?

[Walesa] This probably came about because I did not shut myself up in Belweder Palace with thousands or millions of matters unsettled in Poland. I am trying to solve many of these problems, and hence the unpredictability, for many people do not feel the president will tackle this subject and try to resolve it. That is the unpredictability.

[Jelenski] There are the two faces of Lech Walesa's presidency: the intensive foreign travels and settling of Poland's affairs during the first six months, and the concentration on Poland in the last six months.

[Walesa] The first issue was the maximum reduction of the Polish debt. That succeeded to the maximum: anything more was impossible. On the other hand, the resources and opportunities I gained were very poorly used and that discouraged me, for I noticed the reluctance of the people I was persuading to cooperate, to participate, and they, coming here, were not prepared for it. And my work did not yield results, and that is why I did not play a hand, to put it briefly.

[Jelenski] And your approach to Polish issues?

[Walesa] The main subject until the free elections, my main aim, was to bring about normality, so that finally what we had been fighting for—pluralism, democracy—functioned in a structural way, so that finally my position, my place, was clearer. This year I am going to attempt, now that the systemic conditions are comprehensible—parliament, the government, democracy—I am going to attempt to clear up the understanding of these institutions so the president is not blamed for everything that happens in Poland; so people do not think the only person who is supposed to sort things out is the president. This should be cleared up, this has to be demonstrated, and then it will yield gains for us. Such confused issues, such misunderstandings, this kind of failure to understand government as it functions in Poland only results in disadvantages for Poland. That is why we must try to understand each other more clearly and intelligibly.

[Jelenski] What is left of the Solidarity of Lech Walesa at the beginning of 1992?

[Walesa] I have said many times what Solidarity is. At different times Solidarity was different things. In the 1980's, it was first and foremost a struggle for opportunity, democracy, pluralism, and freedom. After achieving that we really had to change ourselves, reorganize, and I—the only person—proposed the removal of the Solidarity banner, which had brought about freedom and pluralism, because in this second stage we were going to work as ourselves. The aim had been achieved, complete victory, and now we had to transform and change our name. But who listened to the chairman then?

We made a mistake, for if we had listened there would be a different situation. Today, both the president and the prime minister and everybody came from Solidarity, but

Solidarity when it was a struggle. How can it be measured today? At one time, I said Solidarity would lose. The quicker it lost to the new structures, more praise to it. If it lost to the old structures, that was its defeat. Let us look today: Is there not indeed a total victory for Solidarity? There is, but that Solidarity is in the political parties, in the government, the president and all of us have the same background—but we are going to work. And so there is the Solidarity pedigree; but we must not complain that, having those structures, we still have not managed to achieve the good personnel and opportunities to solve Poland's problems. The question arises: Are we capable of it? Are we capable, having all the opportunities, of using them, and of bringing in the best people, the cleverest people, of implementing the the best programs—first and foremost in accordance with society's expectations? But even if one cannot give anything, one has to be able to convince people that it is impossible, that it is not feasible, that they will have to wait. All this after victory—and we have not managed to achieve it yet. We hold it against Solidarity—that is a big mistake. That is a misunderstanding of Solidarity.

[Jelenski] We are talking at the beginning of the New Year. What have you achieved, Mr. President? Simply, in the language of bookkeeping, what can be put on the debit side and what on the credit side?

[Walesa] On the debit side, like everybody, we are not utilizing the great victory. I was not able—we were not able—to correct everything, get it together, and implement it. But then again, when we look at history, Krakow was not built in a day.

These opportunities could not be brought about and solutions found within a year, when there was a struggle to bring about these opportunities. That is why on a historical scale we achieved a maximum, but for today it is too little. But there is every reason to believe this must yield results. Today, looking at the strike situation (?and other situations), we could have great problems and thus be very worried. For 50 years our society has made mistakes many times; it even chose the best people and plans, and then abandoned them and told them to sort things out. This year we behaved the same way. If there had been great pressure right away to solve the scandal issues, to change the direction of the economic policy, so a few more things were sorted out, then we probably would have had even greater results. That is why I am pleased with this pressure, although I think the public's awareness, logic, and understanding will not extend so far as to destroy what we have built, but simultaneously so as to categorically demand the solution to problems that should have been solved long ago. [sentence as heard]

[Jelenski] According to political observers, a dangerous conflict has arisen between the president and government over Admiral Piotr Kolodziejczyk. Many think it is difficult to forsee the outcome of this.

[Walesa] I know what everybody should know: that all the active generals we have were trained under the communists. Among those generals there are many who should be used. We do not know these generals very well. I have gotten to know some of them and they include that general [as heard]. I got to know him; I asked him to prepare all the matters to be taken over by a civilian minister. I must say that he is the only minister who did everything he was asked.

He did it in a short time, clearly and precisely, and was, in fact, the best minister I had to work with. If I have a choice among people with the same background, I choose the one who is best to work with, and I would like that to be honored. At the same time, these mistaken people did not have the chance to observe all those generals and they made a snap judgement: because he was the first, because he has this background, then he is like he is.

I would like to recall that, in my chancellery, there is another general who has the same background as the admiral, and he has worked with the Kaczynskis and with Jacek Merkel and he is still working today and nobody has anything against him. Carefully. [as heard] Of course, people might not like it; they might not like his background either, but nobody can succeed in turning a private into a general in a year. We have to use the people we have and at the same time evaluate them and settle accounts with them according to their work. If somebody works well, he should be respected.

[Jelenski] Can the issue of Admiral Kolodziejczyk cause conflict between the president and the government?

[Walesa] He will not cause any, first because the admiral is a high-class type of person. If he had wanted this sort of conflict it would have happened long ago. He has a lot of friends, and if it were not for his patriotic devotion, we could be talking about a different situation today. It was his great honor, his great patriotism, that caused him to stop everything that would have complicated the Polish scene in relation to the government as well as to the president. All praise to him for that. But nobody knows about that. Nobody witnessed that. But on the other hand, we have a great many people who are very quick to judge.

[Jelenski] Mr. President, a none too pleasant atmosphere has arisen lately around Jerzy Kropiwnicki, minister of labor and social policy.

[Walesa] Until 1978, when the Workers Defense Committee [KOR], the free trade unions, and we were being set up, until then the individual person did not have the strength to defend himself; he defended himself alone and could make mistakes. However, after 1980, after the year in which Solidarity was set up, when the struggle was organized, when we knew that it had to be victorious, there should have been no mistakes. Anybody who made a mistake after that, who did not last, should not aspire to office. We should agree on that and understand

it. On the other hand, earlier elements, if they are not wrongs that are too great, are betrayals not too great, should be understood.

[Jelenski] Things have not been going too well recently in the state, politically and economically. When will order reign in Poland? Poles have simply lost patience.

[Walesa] We have often behaved like that. I did too, probably in 1970. I thought the struggle was over, that clever people, good people, people who had returned from the West, would now extricate Poland. I went home, like society. When I woke up, it was no longer possible to do anything. Society now behaves in a similar way. They say: Our people, Solidarity, the president, they will deal with it. It has turned out not to be so: We have made many mistakes, and society must remain on the alert, constantly on the alert, and constantly make demands to cut the cost, not to demolish what we have built, as I have said. However, a firm eye still must be kept constantly on the new authorities and on the problems being solved, badly solved or not at all, as society wishes. Hopefully, what is happening now will not turn into some kind of demonstration or brawl. Vigilance and determined struggle can only turn out well for Poland.

[Jelenski] You announced that the republic's civil service will be put in order and that, at the same time, officials' incompetence is spreading beyond measure. I came up against it myself recently, Mr. president, because I have contact with reality.

[Walesa] The main aim of free elections was to do everything to obtain a normal situation in Poland. My task today is to fight the whole year for the Polish Government's understanding to be better defined and understood by society. In this understanding, the president ought to be on the side of society and demand that the organizational cells responsible for various problems solve those problems. The president has nothing to do with the state administration. The president also doesn't like that and will demand, together with the public, that the government, having that competency, finally sort out administrative matters. You make the same mistake. You expect me to take the blame for everything. Am I supposed to catch every criminal? I was for building a normal political scene as in the West, and I brought that about. I now must show the public that government in a democratic country is composed of three essential parts: the president, who is with the public and keeps an eye on everything, but only keeps an eye; the government; and, above all, parliament. Parliament creates all the laws about how people will proceed. The government executes all that. However, the president alerts, prompts, demands, and nothing more than that. People must demand that the law in Poland be different and demand that we pick a good government which will amend all those laws.

[Jelenski] A wave of strikes initiated by Solidarity is sweeping over Poland. Mr. President, this is a sign of determined opposition to the continuation of the Balcerowicz Plan policy and, above all, a question of the recent increases introduced by Prime Minister Bielecki's government which Prime Minister Olszewski's government had to accept.

[Walesa] I was the first to speak about the fact that we were lacking a second Balcerowicz. Balcerowicz the first had a good program, a good plan, and he carried it out.

However, he could not be responsible for the entire state of Poland. We did not all keep up with Balcerowicz. If Balcerowicz had bettered himself with a second Balcerowicz, who would have gone over the ruins of Balcerowicz one, who kept a tight hold on the economic regime and program, and if that second Balcerowicz had organized the unemployed and those enterprises which collapsed owing to the first Balcerowicz, we would be in a different economic situation. However, we did not build that second Balcerowicz; therefore, the Balcerowicz Plan has not proved itself so far. However, you cannot say it was bad, only that the rest did not keep up with it. I could give some thought today [word indistinct] president, basing myself probably on four subjects. None of them has been correctly realized, and the government proclaims a totally different program. The question for me is: Who is right in this argument? I insist I am. If my economic proposals had been carried out, the 100 million... [changes thought] Naturally, in a different way, as they were aimed at returning Poland to the Poles, to return all the enterprises, all the land, the entire property to poor Poles, and then they would know what to do with that, even if they sell it to the West. The law should allow, for example, for not more than 49 percent to be sold, but everyone selling his own takes care of himself and doesn't deceive himself. We would not have any scandals, and we would have a more correct sale. No reprivatization has been carried out. The Balcerowicz Plan, quite correctly, was not extended to include those possibilities, and today we have the results.

[Jelenski] If the wave of strikes was to become a danger, President Lech Walesa would play the role of fireman putting out the fire?

[Walesa] I have no choice, and I will do everything in my power. However, I repeat: I believe in the public's wisdom. We have all made mistakes—perhaps the government, including myself, greater ones. That is why we should admit to it and correct them. However, it is not permitted to destroy, to set it on fire, as this is ours, and it will have to be rebuilt. I do not suspect Polish society of destroying itself and that it's right, no one is able to say it is not, as it is.

[Jelenski] The pensions law: You recently opted for every pensioner to receive at least 1 million zloties. You recently said something like: Pensioners will be able to earn as much as they like on top of their pensions; meanwhile, barriers, regulations agreed by the Sejm and government, are in force. How are we supposed to interpret that?

[Walesa] I am not a deputy and cannot do the Sejm's work. I only did not want to sign that law. It must be said that it puts certain things in order and that I will put it in order if it is introduced in its entirety. However, I did not agree to anyone who had less than one million having anything taken from them, and I did not agee to pensioners not being able to work. I conditionally signed that law, which was good at sorting some things out; however, it was bad on these two main points. I was promised that those two points would be quickly [word indistinct] as I proposed. I hear that one has been implemented—that is, to 1 million, as I demanded—however, at the moment, if we are talking about working, it has not been solved. If someone has work, can work, he cannot be stopped from working; let him work. Naturally, where there is unemployment, where there are young people, it should be changed so that young people don't have to suffer any moral losses. Thus, work should be sought, arranged, so that there is enough work for both. That is possible. In Poland, there is work not only for these generations but also for the next ten. However, we are the only ones who do not know how, as I say, to draw up programs setting those great possibilities in motion.

[Jelenski] The president was chosen by society and must be with society—those are your words, sir. What do they mean? Could they be interpreted in this way: The president feels, for instance, that Jan Olszewski's government is against society?

[Walesa] That is not so. However, the government is elected by parliament. The deputies have different numbers of votes, from 110,000 to only 500 votes. I have a good few million. My position is somewhat different. It emerges more from society. Second, the government, like every government, is guided by some arguments and certainly has no intention of destroying, persecuting society. It can only act competently or incompetently or be unprepared.

[Jelenski] Lech Walesa, having a trade unionist pedigree, backed a liberal prime minister.

[Walesa] That was the best option, which I applied for Poland at the time, to bring about a normal situation. Of course, it had its minuses and pluses. Generally and historically speaking, I achieved what I planned.

[Jelenski] Where can the differences between President Walesa and Prime Minister Jan Olszewski be seen? On solving the economic problems?

[Walesa] All my moves, assessed in a shallow way, could suggest that I have objections to Prime Minister Olszewski. There is no greater mistake than to think that. This government and this prime minister wouldn't have been appointed if I hadn't given him a lot of help at the last moment, for a few hours. He hadn't the slightest chance. Not wanting to give Poland this sort of Christmas present and wanting to give democracy the maximum help, both in Poland and in the world, I had to do it, like it or not, because I am for democracy and see all the pluses in it. On the face of it, I hindered him; however, in fact, I fought for his strength and his greatness. It did not altogether succeed. It is not the person, it is not democracy, but the base. I do not like the base, because it does not guarantee Poland's strength in solving problems. I would like you to understand once and for all that I am not fighting, I am not carrying on a sporting combat. Who gave somebody a hiding? Who came off best? I am only fighting for the country's interest. I do not like the Presidency; I do not want it, but I've taken on the obligation of leading Poland to normality, and I will do the maximum. I do not assess myself or the prime minister, satisfied or dissatisfied, (?likeable), handsome, too tall, too small. No. I assess whether he will solve the problems.

[Jelenski] How do you rate the chances of Prime Minister Olszewski's government implementing the economic program?

[Walesa] If we divide up the roles well—i.e. if parliament quickly stops ruling and tackles tidying up the legal situation in Poland, giving legal possibilities to the government—then everything has a better chance of succeeding. However, if we mix the two and it is parliament which rules, hinders, and drags things out, then it won't come off. Hence, I demanded special powers—with the bad name of decrees—to improve the efficiency and chances of the prime minister to govern. I withdrew at the last moment because the goal was reached, but the particular solutions were bad. They couldn't be good because they were not meant to serve me but the government first and foremost. One can say today that I will be trying to improve things for several ministers get special powers. We can now consider who: certainly, the internal affairs minister to be able to keep customs duties, crime, the scandals under control; certainly, the economics minister should have them to finish the reprivatization, to carry out a great privatization; the prosecutor must have special powers to act like lightning so that the criminals cannot escape abroad with bags of money, so that he can catch them quicker. If the government gets all that, then there is a chance that we will solve the problems quicker, which society is struggling for, and it is right.

[Jelenski] When and why was there a parting of the ways between President Lech Walesa and the Center Alliance? It was your political base, after all.

[Walesa] Once again, you must look at it from the aspect of where that base came from and what it was for: to build political pluralism in Poland so as to start constructing it. Immediately after starting as president, I had the entire Warsaw group opposing me, and not just those who lost in my elections. They were formally or informally organized. They did not understand my idea. I was always afraid of a monopoly, and the Citizens Committee, which was created for a different purpose, was a monopoly. The question is whether that monopoly would not have been transformed into a similar monopoly as the previous one. I think it would have. I

had to help build something different to counteract the monopoly, namely the creation of conditions for Kaczynskis and others so they attempted to build something like that, except again I miscalculated as all that was only supposed to be in force until March. If that had been the case, then that force would not have been such a large force, which would have made a counterbalance. However, it lasted too long, and that threw us all somewhat, and that slightly destroyed my idea, and that resulted in the balance being shaken. However, I had no influence on that as parliament did not allow me to hold the elections earlier. I did not argue because I couldn't take it, only I cannot agree to the incorrect development of Poland. I am capable of and perhaps will be forced to build a presidential reform party; I might have to do that, and I will do it, but I do not want to as it will again be an attempt to monopolize. Perhaps there is not a chance for a monopoly anymore, but at a certain time there could have been, and so as not to make that mistake, which was made by others, I did not agree to that. I broke up the monopoly as that was not the correct development of Poland. I did that with premeditation, having thought it through exactly, and that served Poland. Naturally, looking at that in personal categories, looking at it even in my own personal categories, it is a great loss for me personally; however, it is a gain for Poland, and I am only motivated by the interest of Poland and not my own.

[Jelenski] How do you intend to influence the political scene without a political base? Might we supect you of applying the divide and rule principle?

[Walesa] No. My first, main task was to bring about free elections in a pluralist setting, and this was the Kaczynski brothers, the Center Alliance, and the lead-up to the elections. However, there is a question of whether the split already exists, whether it is just a question of juggling things so they develop evenly or a question of whether or not there is not once again too great a predominance and whether it is unnecessary to go so far as to enter into something or to construct something to balance things out. I am still not completely sure. I look at this, and, depending on how the Polish scene develops, I, who am responsible for bringing Poland to normality, will try to position myself and the political scene. However, once again, I am not thinking of myself. Honestly, I have already lost regarding this concept, and I know this, but Poland has won by it.

[Jelenski] You have recently been well disposed toward the Democratic Union.

[Walesa] They are weaker today, and despite [word inidstinct] they have lost, and they do not deserve to lose. Poland needs them, and everything must be done to balance this force and exploit the intellect it possesses. I really will do everything. Let me mention that I have a great number of friends there who did not understand what I was saying at the beginning of the struggle in the Citizens' Committee. What did I say then? Gentlemen, there will come a time when society will only then be truly communist. It is only then that it will push away all the clites, if, earlier on, we do not expand and work out structures. If we do not allow this, they will crush you like a steam roller. This was received in terms of: Lech Walesa is not afraid; he's a dictator; he imposes; he kicks out Wujec and others. Yet, I only asked for expansion and inclusion of the new elites which were growing, which would kick out the old elites, and this is exactly what happened. That was because one did not do it, one felt offended and one destroyed. Maybe it is good, maybe it is bad. It looks bad to me in the short term; as for the long term, it is good as many people have listened to reason and when they look at the outcome and what I said then, they must admit that I was right.

[Jelenski] We are going through an economic catastrophe. Is there a chance for uniting all post-Solidarity forces? One wants to shout: Altogether now, Poland's on fire!

[Walesa] No, I do not share this view. It is not true. How great possibilities we have, and how very little we use them. If, again, we do not listen to president's earlier calls—that is, if we do not carry the great privatization swiflty, if we do not give possibilities for big ownership—everything would go as so far. Poland is a rich country and has great capabilities. It is badly governed, it has not worked out structures, as I say personnel and programmatic capacity. It hampers private enterprise, it interferes with work, and this is the reason for our dissatisfaction today. If we remove these chains, everything else is not that bad.

[Jelenski] The rule of democracy puts the president above divisions. Having an idea of good economic solutions, he suggests these solutions to the government, even if it would have to be eventually at the president's cost.

[Walesa] That is so for today. However, I think that I will not have much effect. and in this regard I will prepare different options, keeping in mind the lesson learned from my year and from two years of our governing.

[Jelenski] Why has the president withdrawn a draft small constitution?

[Walesa] I will provoke, initiate, encourage, and show, but I should not be overambitious and stubborn; I should not win points and should not play a match. I demonstrated it; I proved it. Everybody said I was right, and now one who needs it to govern well has to strive himself for catching up for improvement and for taking it. Let's suppose I did not do it, that I put forward this bill out of malice and for different reasons, politically they would not give it to me, cut it back, rearranged it, and then announced that the president won and got his powers, and after 6 months there are no results whatsoever, and people say: So, you have got what you wanted and what have you done?

That is not what it is about. I cannot do that; it is not clever; it does not yield anything. However, I had to initiate, I had to provoke, and I did that.

[Jelenski] Who is blocking the filling of posts which are so important in the state, for example the head of the Supreme Chamber of Control or head of the Polish National Bank?

[Walesa] You may well wonder if everyone is right in these arguments, but the problem is to condense all the arguments into one argument or a few logical arguments [word indistinct] some are motivated by the fact it would be good to have [words indistinct] in the bad who would arrange something or other quicker and others that it is not good when that party has got someone because she'll get some profit for her party. I wanted to settle it; my idea, if we're talking about the bank, was somewhat different. I wanted initially to help cleanse the atmosphere in the bank [word indistinct] sort out all those scandals, and I chose a woman who had worked in the Supreme Chamber of Control on all these scandals; she knew all the scandals, and she was probably the most competent to clear the field. Some were afraid of this woman, others didn't know her, and a third group wanted to have their man (?naturally) from their party. This all hampered my good idea, and I will try to return to it again unless others clear the field and it is done by [word indistinct] then obviously someone else will be needed to run that bank professionally. I would then have to consider such a person. I cannot put one forward today because I do not fully know if the settling of accounts, the sorting out, is not being done by someone else and do it otherwise, or whether it still is not being. [sentence as heard] We will need to insist on the selection of such a person who will best solve that problem.

[Jelenski] So far, it has not been possible to tax casinos. Many people in Poland maintain that the state wants to get as much money as it can from the poor.

[Walesa] There is much dishonesty in Poland. There is much intentional and stupid dishonesty. This should all be got under control as soon as possible, i.a. those taxes in the casinos [words indistinct] dishonesty, somebody is either doing this on purpose or being stupid. It must be clarified. I cannot vote on it and make a new law. We have a legal filter, there is no law. I say that decrees are needed at such moments. Neither decrees [word indistinct] nor will the law keep up with all this, neither will the prosecutor catch the criminals, neither will the militia look for him [word indistinct] as the law is bad. Those are the costs of this revolution, perhaps too high, but no one can say there isn't a chance to improve that, but let people put it right who know about these things. The worse thing is when a blacksmith tries to perform an operation.

[Jelenski] Decommunization has been introduced in the CSFR. Is decommunization necessary in Poland? What kind?

[Walesa] Probably also the helplessness of the law, the helplessness in solving problems, all this has resulted in the Czechs trying to save themselves somehow so as to bring this all under control. They have chosen such a path. Will we choose that path? Maybe yes, maybe no. Even if we take such a path, slightly different things will take place in our decommunization, as our revolution was different and our society is slightly different. It is organization is so far advanced that people do not want it otherwise, and that is why their law, their production, their way of thinking is going a little different from ours.

[Jelenski] Mr. President, Poland is entering the path of unimaginable economic difficulties but without a certain assurance of a minimal standard of living, that human rights will not be observed.

[Walesa] Again, I do not agree with that. As I am 40 odd years old and have seen a bit in life, I know how I lived, I know what I had, what people have got today who live where I reside and live, that is not like that. It is good that we want more, it is good that we demand more, that we look for more. However, at the same time let's sensible and logical, as we have to work this all out wisely, and what we have already built today, a system, a system which despite everying provides chances for an influx of ideas and intelligence, programs and structures, this guarantees that in precisely this way we are in control of all this, of ourselves and our ambitions. [sentence as heard]

[Jelenski] Thank you very much for the talk.

Walesa Views Forthcoming Solidarity Strikes

LD1201213792 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1800 GMT 12 Jan 92

[Interview with President Lech Walesa by correspondent Andrzej Trojanowski, on forthcoming Solidarity strikes; in Gdansk on 12 January—recorded]

[Text] [Walesa] The mistake made by myself and all of us in 1970, when there were great opportunities for Gierek and for us, was that we went on strike, won half and left for home. We thought that the rest would be dealt with by these admirable men who arrived from Silesia and France. We probably made the same mistake in 1980 and 1989: The president is our man, the chairman of Solidarity, the government is also ours, so they will deal with the situation.

It transpired that society has to supervise the program and its delegates all the time and demand, correct, redirect, encourage, and compel. Because we have not been doing this efficiently for the whole year, problems have accumulated now, many mistakes have been made, my program is not implemented. I did not have, we did not have strength and support. These actions should now confirm our programs, should support people and programs which are needed. The rest, despite emotions and small losses, should be realized for the benefit of the society [sentence as heard].

[Trojanowski] Mr. President, don't you feel that society, (?shocked) for years, has enough conflicts at the top and at the bottom; protests, promises, programs which are not realized, governments, personnel changes etc? The question for today is not how to live but how to survive.

[Walesa] Obviously, it may have had enough conflicts but it did not participate in these conflicts. I was raised from the bottom, I am a worker and I know that these conflicts were essential because the solutions did not work. These conflicts were to encourage society to help one of the sides, one of the programs. Society did not help. I was not in the position, we were not in the position, maybe we were not right [as heard]. That is why, if society has had enough, it should actively participate and supervise reforms in Poland because we, even new staff, make awful mistakes which are difficult to reverse.

[Trojanowski] Will it be a political or an economic strike?

[Walesa] It will be a strike to implement, once again, the program necessary for Poland. I think that we still do not understand what a democracy is for. The purpose of democracy is that the wisest people and the best programs will force their way to realization and win. If they do not win and the governing is poor, it means that either incompetent people or wrong programs won.

We had a democratic system, we had free elections and some people did not participate in them. This is it, here lies a mistake. The purpose of democracy is that the best and wisest people and the best programs will win. They did not win and that is why the situation is bad. Maybe now, with this help and emotions the correct programs and wise people will win. So far, we all have objections, me included.

[Trojanowski] Mr. President, will you go on strike on 13 or 16 January?

[Walesa] I will be observing all this to see if democracy and pluralism, which have been effective throughout the world, are already effective in Poland. I will help the efficiency of democracy, wise people and good ideas. I am here to do that, that is what the whole nation has chosen me for.

'No Need Yet' for Walesa To Take Over

LD1301105792 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1000 GMT 13 Jan 92

[Text] This wave of strikes has been a certain sign that the public is tired of the political line being implemented now. One has to draw conclusions from that, said Andrzej Drzycimski, the president's spokesman, in an interview for Radio Z this morning.

He stated that the president listened intently to what was going on in the society. The president has confidence in democracy, and if democracy recognizes the need for changes and modifications, one has to carry them out and the president supports this.

Andrzej Drzycimski added that there was no need yet for President Walesa to take over the office of prime minister, and he recalled that this government had been formed thanks to the president.

Nationwide Strikes Follow Solidarity Call

LD1301131692 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1105 GMT 13 Jan 92

[Excerpts] Following the call by the NSZZ Solidarity National Commission a one-hour warning strike began at 1200 as a protest against the way energy price rises was introduced. Unlike in the rest of the country, in Bydgoszcz voivodship the stoppage lasted two hours from 1000 to 1200. As we have learned, employees of the municipal transport stopped work for 15 minutes from 1000 to 1015. They also stopped for another five minutes between 1155 and 1200.

Meanwhile at the heat generating plant only support teams joined the protest. According to a spokesman of NSZZ Solidarity Bydgoszcz branch an estimated 80 percent of workers supported for the strike. Final figures could be completely different.

In Torun the strike began at 1200. According to information from an official of Torun Solidarity the municipal transportation enterprise has not joined the strike as Solidarity 80 enjoys greater support there.

Finally, Wloclawek. It has been confirmed that all major plants and enterprises in the town have joined the protest. [passage omitted]

It has been announced that municipal transport in Wroclaw has stopped work for only half an hour, between 1100 and 1130. Railwaymen from Lower Silesia Solidarity announced a one-hour stoppage, while State Motor Transport coach drivers decided not to strike in order to make life easier for commuters.

In the Beskidy region the railway has been excluded from the strike, but municipal transportation enterprises will join the protest. At Tarnobrzeg the fire brigade, health service, education and transportation are excluded from taking part in the strike.

Our next report is from Szczecin. Factory sirens marked the beginning of the protest action at 1200. Municipal transport has been suspended for an hour. In all schools special lessons are being held, explaining to pupils the reasons for the protest. [passage omitted]

Labor Minister Explains Government Social Policy

LD1001211992 Warsaw TVP Television Network in Polish 1830 GMT 10 Jan 92

[Excerpt] This government will not enter Europe on its knees; the previous team did not start by drawing up an inventory; public credibility will be the priority of this government; this government will not send tanks against protesting workers and will not declare martial law; I would like this government to shift from the mentality of head bookkeeper to the position of an industrialist—those are some remarks made by Jerzy Kropiwniecki, minister of labor and social policy, at today's press conference.

I have three things to promise, the minister said: First, what the government has will be an open thing and it will be divided up in the full glare of the floodlights; second, the needs of those who don't have the chance to assure themselves living conditions will be given priority in consideration. When there is an opportunity to provide a chance to work or to claim benefits I shall choose that form in which the dignity of the person is better protected, and thus the opportunity to earn and maintain oneself from one's own income. Third, I am going to be the advocate of a policy, which will give areas of the highest unemployment particular preferential treatment.

The minister said that 80 billion zloties a month have been planned as a cushion as a result of the increased power and heating charges and also that he will find funds for an active struggle with unemployment. For details he referred to his expert colleagues. Staff issues of the Ministry [of Labor and Social Policy] will be ended this week. Two or three people, participants of the active political opposition, from the entire managing team will leave.

[Begin Kropiwniecki recoding] And here the whole time, with regard to this, the ball is in the other side's court. Only one sentence needs to be directed to Premier Olszewzki by Mr. Mazowiecki and together with such a declaration participation in responsibility for the fate of Poland is a natural thing.[end recording] [passage omitted]

Skubiszewski Cited on Aim of Visit to Lithuania

LD1001175192 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1700 GMT 10 Jan 92

[Text] Foreign Affairs Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski said today that in his understanding he is going to Lithuania not only at the invitation of the chairman of the Lithuanian Supreme Council and its foreign minister, but also at the invitation of Poles who have been living there for generations. He said that his visit in Vilnius is a demonstration of activity by the Polish Government aimed at improving the difficult situation of the Polish community. The minister added that such improvement could be achieved only through talks and contacts and not by the freezing of relations.

According to Minister Skubiszewski a Polish-Lithuanian declaration, which he intends to sign in Vilnius, can contribute to the improvement. The declaration includes a number of decisions favorable to the Poles in Lithuania, but under the condition that they will be implemented by the state of Lithuania.

Russia To Restrict Natural Gas Supplies

LD1301135392 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1300 GMT 13 Jan 92

[Text] Russia's decision on restricting supplies of natural gas to Poland has come as a complete surprise to us, Mieczyslaw Ratajewicz from the Ministry of Foreign Economic Cooperation told our reporter. Presently we have reserves of gas, but the restriction of supplies for a longer period would have an impact on the economy. Neither political reasons nor Poland's economic instability have been behind the restrictions; it is the fault of the Russian administration.

At the moment we have no choice but to accept supplies of natural gas from Russia. We shall not buy natural gas from the West either this of next year, Mieczyslaw Ratajewiczx said.

Bielecki Briefs Walesa on Visit to U.S.

LD1001195692 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1700 GMT 10 Jan 92

[Text] President Lech Walesa held a meeting today with Jan Krzysztof Bielecki, who returned from the United States where he had been readmitted to the supervisory board of the Polish-American Enterprise Fund.

Jan Krzysztof Bielecki briefed the president on his talks in the United States. He was given an assurance of the transfer of $21 million from the American State Department for the fund. The money will be used for supporting the private sector and for the setting up of a mortgage bank necessary for the implementation of a housing construction program in Poland.

Jan Krzysztof Bielecki also said, during the meeting with the president that, in spite of the United States' positive approach towards events in Poland, there was some concern connected with the announced renegotiation of the Polish Government with international financial institutions.

Spokesman Asks for Explanation From Bielecki

LD1001231592 Warsaw PAP in English 2008 GMT 10 Jan 92

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 10—Government spokesman Marcin Gugulski said on Friday [10 January] that member of parliament and former Prime Minister Jan Krzysztof Bielecki is supposed to explain to public opinion why he was telling Americans, during his recent

U.S. visit, that the Olszewski government follows current demands of the people and neglects the necessary economic changes.

Gugulski said such statements are most surprising and worrying because they cast unfavourable, false light on the situation in poland, and they are not supported by facts.

The spokesman also promised that the government would present its stance on the political criterion in manning posts in state administration if the deputies make such a motion.

"The ministers are free to select their closest staff and choose their personnel policy criteria within the Polish law," Gugulski added.

CSFR's Dienstbier Pays Official Visit 10 Jan

Makes Statement on Arrival

AU1001162592 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0931 GMT 10 Jan 92

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 10/1/1992—"I am happy to be in Bucharest. Traditionally our relations have been good, even very good, since before the Second World War" said Jiri Dienstbier foreign minister of the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic on arrival at Bucharest's Otopeni Airport. I think they held a great potential. Unfortunately, our two countries do have economic problems which is one more reason for us to explore every avenue of cooperation. We are going to initiate the treaty between Czechoslovakia and Romania that will lay down the basic principles for our relationship. Our talks will certainly cover the situation in Europe, particularly in central and East Europe, in the Balkans, in the former Soviet Union. And we will strive to seek concrete possibilities for a growing economic cooperation. Both countries need production, and markets. But neither you, nor we have money. So we must find a way to change things, Jiri Dienstbier also said.

Romanian Foreign Minister Adrian Nastase said in his turn: We are particularly glad to welcome Minister Dienstbier to Bucharest. He is one of the most charming European diplomats, a man of great political openness in his own country, culturally and in terms of political action he is one of the most dynamic and interesting figures European diplomacy now has.

But this visit is important also by the opening it marks in the bilateral relationship and by providing an opportunity for the discussion of a few specific matters. We will be able to put the finishing touches to the political treaty between our two countries and to exchange opinions on problems that are in the focus of our continent and our two countries.

In context, Mr. Nastase said that the possibilities to expand economic cooperation would be sounded in an attempt to find new channels between the two economies and, why not, to develop a more vigorous relationship by pulsating relations between Romania and Czechoslovakia at a social mechanism level.

Views Relations With Nastase

AU1001174792 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1405 GMT 10 Jan 92

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 10/1/1992—Friday, 10 January, talks were conducted in Bucharest between Jiri Dienstbier, federal deputy prime minister and foreign minister of the Czech and Slovak Republic, on a visit in Romania, and his Romanian counterpart, Adrian Nastase.

According to the spokesman for the Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Traian Chebeleu, an evaluation of bilateral links was made, leading to the conclusion that both governments have to make efforts to raise Romanian-Czechoslovak relations to the level of existing traditions.

Both parties mentioned that the treaty, planned to be initialled equally on Friday [10 January], would create conditions for the holding of activities involving important economic exchanges at the level of businessmen, and also of nongovernmental bodies and the civil society.

The two parties informed each other on the political situation in their countries, on the important moments that are expected to follow in Czechoslovakia and in Romania, that will both have parliamentary elections in the near future.

Opinions were exchanged on the course of the democratic processes initiated in the two countries.

At the close of the talks, views were expressed on the impact of the events that have changed the face of this part of Europe, on the two countries and on their relations with their neighbours.

Discusses Future Ties With Iliescu

AU1001181792 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1410 GMT 10 Jan 92

[Text] Romania's president, Mr. Ion Iliescu, today received Mr. Jiri Dienstbier, vice president of the federal government and minister of foreign affairs of the Czech and Slovak Republic at Cotroceni Palace. The two sides discussed the current state of bilateral relations and possibilities to develop these relations. The discussions were attended by Romanian Foreign Minister Adrian Nastase and Mr. Ioan Mircea Pascu, presidential councillor. The extraordinary and plenipotentiary ambassador of the Czech and Slovak Republic in Bucharest, His Excellency Milan Resutik, also attended the meeting.

At the end of the talks, President Ion Iliescu said the following:

[Begin Iliescu recording] The visit that Mr. Dienstbier, the minister of foreign affairs of the Czech and Slovak Republic, is paying to Romania marks an important moment in our bilateral relations. We have always had good and positive relations with Czechoslovakia, both in our recent and distant history. We are experiencing similar progress in our political, economic, and social life. Seen within the general trend of developing a system of bilateral treaties, primarily with our neighboring countries and with the European countries as well, today's treaty has been drawn up without great difficulty, because we have never had and still do not have delicate or controversial problems between our countries. This treaty will also mark a new era in the quality of our bilateral relations and it will be a foundation stone for the new system of relations that is being forged in Europe." [end recording]

Assesses Cooperation With Stolojan

AU1001182392 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1446 GMT 10 Jan 92

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 10/1/1992—Mr. Theodor Stolojan, prime minister of Romania, received on Friday,

January 10, Jiri Dienstbier, federal deputy prime minister and foreign minister of the Czech and Slovak Republic.

The talks centered on modalities to intensify cooperation between the two countries and settle mutual links on the newly created conditions of the post-revolutionary period.

The interview was attended by Mr. Adrian Nastase, minister of foreign affairs of Romania.

Iliescu, Others Attend ROMPRES Ceremony

AU1101190392 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1800 GMT 11 Jan 92

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 11/1/1992—Saturday, January 11, the headquarters of the national news agency ROMPRES was the venue of a ceremony to mark two years since President Iliescu signed a decree-law regarding its creation.

The ceremony was attended by Romanian President Ion Iliescu, Senate Speaker Alexandru Barladeanu, Chamber of Deputies Speaker Dan Martian, Foreign Minister Adrian Nastase and other ministers and state secretaries as well as by presidents of political parties like PNL [National Liberal Party] President Radu Campeanu, Peasant Party President Corneliu Coposu and PDAR [Romanian Agrarian Democratic Party] President Victor Surdu.

Invited guests of the written and audiovisual press of Romania, foreign press correspondents accredited to Bucharest, representatives of the cultural and scientific life as well as ambassadors and other members of the diplomatic corps attended.

Here are some statements on ROMPRES' anniversary:

General Nicolae Spiroiu, minister of national defence: I regularly follow the news of the national news Agency ROMPRES, and in our turn we send news items through ROMPRES' agency. Therefore I have enough reasons to attend this anniversary which I consider special. I wish ROMPRES many years of activity with interesting news as it has disseminated so far.

Dan Martian, speaker of the Chamber of Deputies: I am glad to take part in the two-year creation anniversary of the national news agency ROMPRES. It plays a major role in collecting and conveying the information needed by the mass media in the country and abroad. Over these two years the agency has carried on a good and promising activity. In the hope that it will also benefit by modern means, I am sure the national news agency has fine development prospects.

Foreign Minister Adrian Nastase: ROMPRES is a vital institution for anyone who wants to keep informed. It matters a lot what we actually do but it also matters what ROMPRES says about what we have done. That is why nobody can survive in the Romanian public life without being a good friend of the national news agency.

PNL President Radu Campeanu: Referring to my contacts with ROMPRES I can tell you that I have always been very contented with its objectiveness, with its seriousness in making remarks. I think this is a good thing. I wonder to what extent your work is appreciated by the written press which has not always shown willingness to talk about truths and to render them as such, being more particularly inclined to give its own truth I think you have succeeded much in observing a deontology of the press.

Ion Ratiu: ROMPRES' activity is essential; it is of capital importance. I am pleased to attend this anniversary. I wish ROMPRES much success in future and I also wish it to keep going along an authentically journalistic life.

Peasant Party President Corneliu Coposu: I assess ROMPRES' activity as exceptional and indispensable because I think that an agency that supplies up-to-date information is a decisive factor in the citizens' political education, for transparence and the information of the Romanian public. I think ROMPRES has fully done its duty though it is not properly equipped. I wish it long life, independence and objectiveness, features that can assert it in the Romanian and foreign press.

PDAR President Victor Surdu: The national news agency keeps the pace with any event and that is why I want to congratulate its people for the two years of activity and, especially, for the further... 300 that are to come. The best thing it can further do is to collect fresh information and disseminate it operatively, without interpreting it. It is the best thing the agency can do. What I do not like about ROMPRES now is that it is not rich enough.

Foreign Affairs State Secretary I.V. Sandulescu: On such an anniversary one says good things about the feted. But I think well about ROMPRES. I truly think it is an agency that does its duty, to the full that has managed to cover all spheres and disseminate the major current news items. I think ROMPRES has two chief obligations: To maintain its objectiveness in reporting events and rendering statements, and to use all means available to convince everybody that Romania has embarked on the way of democracy through genuinely free elections.

Romania's President Ion Iliescu: I avail myself of this opportunity to wish a good year to both the agency and the whole press. I have realized that for the agency the major problem is that of modern equipment so as to be able to have a rich flow of information and be a highly important source and support to the Romanian press in vehiculating news. This year we must make efforts to equip ROMPRES somehow comparable to other press agencies. I wish our national news agency to implement its programmes as regards equipment, which will aggrandize its efficiency, quality and promptness in disseminating the pieces of information.

Commission Lists Bucharest Mayor Candidates

AU1001191892 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1532 GMT 10 Jan 92

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 10/1/1992—As announced by Judge Gheorghe Neda, president of the Bucharest City Electoral Commission, as many as 35 leaders or representatives of political parties have presented their candidacy for the office of mayor-general of Romania's capital. Among them: Cazimir Ionescu (National Salvation Front), Crin Halaicu (Democratic Convention), Ion I. Bratianu (Bratianu Liberal Union), Alexandru Ionescu (Ecological Federation of Romania), writer Radu Ion Theodoru (Romania Mare Party), Mircea I. Nicu (the Romanian National Unity Party), Constantin Hotulete (Social Democratic Party), Marin Puiu Dumitrescu (Agrarian Democratic Party), Calin Popescu-Tariceanu (Liberal Party), Gheorghe Manolache (the Left Democratic Union), playwright Tudor Popescu (Free Exchange Party), etc.

According to the president of the Bucharest City Electoral Commission, the candidacies for the office of mayor-general and councilor, are not final, for, "if someone finds that these candidacies lack legality" they may be appealed against.

Agriculture Minister on Improving Production

AU1001191592 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1150 GMT 10 Jan 92

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 10/1/1992—During the interview on January 9 with Prime Minister Theodor Stolojan, held upon the request of the Romanian Agrarian Democratic Party, a string of necessary measures were presented for agriculture and food industry to increase production. The measures needed the substantive support of the government, stated to the press Petre Marculescu, minister of agriculture and food. He showed that in order to be able to cope with the current necessities, substantive credits were needed for agriculture and food industry. Marculescu assessed that the prime minister was sensitive to their problems and promised assistance. The talks would continue on Friday, January 10, with a larger participation, from all industries adjacent to agriculture, including chemistry, machinebuilding, in an attempt to find concrete solutions to the respective problems. Good productions in agriculture, Marculescu stressed, "are strictly conditioned by the provision of a substantive technical-material base". He opined that loans for agriculture and food industry were not only possible but even necessary now, as there was no other way out of the impasse.

Government Continues Viewing Agricultural Problems

AU1001195392 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1648 GMT 10 Jan 92

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 10/1/1992—The problems facing the agricultural commercial companies with state capital were in the focus of an analysis made at Victory Palace on Friday [10 January] morning by Romanian Prime Minister Theodor Stolojan and executives in the relevant department. The fact was underscored that the respective units should increase their contribution to the improvement of the population's supply.

The prime minister highlighted the need for organizational measures to secure food imports, especially on a barter basis, improve pay and prepare the process of privatization. He also pointed out that an end should be put to corruption through energetic measures as soon as possible.

Open Letter in Defense of Tokes Sent to Leaders

AU1001154392 Budapest UJ MAGYARORSZAG in Hungarian 9 Jan 92 p 4

["In Defense of Laszlo Tokes—Open Letter to the European Heads of State"]

[Text] Honorable Heads of State!

On 7 January 1992, Hungarian newspapers carried the news that [ethnic Hungarian Presbyterian Bishop in Romania] Laszlo Tokes was threatened with death in his country. The letter that announced the death sentence by something called the "Romanian People's Court" and offers $150,000 to the person who carries out the "sentence" was posted in Szatmar [Satu Mare]. You may remember—the tragic news shook the whole of Europe—that in Marosvasarhely [Tirgu Mures], Andras Suto, the well-known writer, suffered an attack that put his life in danger. He paid with one of his eyes for being born a Hungarian.

We need not explain the enduring merits of Laszlo Tokes. European politics of the 21st century can only rest on the brotherhood of powers imbued with peoples' spirits. The new Europe will have to be the Europe of the people's spiritual self-defense, without slandering others. Any kind of incitement is tantamount to the denial of this spiritual self-defense and puts European peace at risk, but it is mainly a tool of the power mania of extremist forces.

Laszlo Tokes is one of the outstanding public personalities of the new Europe, and one of the living symbols of the Transylvanian Hungarians' will to live and of their spiritual self-protection.

We ask you, with respect, to protest, and also to express your protest through diplomatic channels in front of the peoples of European, and to call the Romanian leaders' attention to stepping up the fight against this life-endangering threat and against anti- Hungarian feelings in Romania.

We forward our open letter to you via the embassies in Budapest.

With respect and thanks:

Agnes Maczo, parliamentary deputy;
Andras Balczo, self-employed intellectual;
Imre Makovecz, architect;
Imre Pozsgay, parliamentary deputy;
Sandor Puski, publisher;
Ilian G. Nagy, poet.
Budapest, January 1992.

International

EC Members to Recognize Republics Individually

LD1101022292 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0129 GMT 11 Jan 92

[Text] Brussels, January 11 (TANJUG)—The European Community (EC) diplomacy chiefs wound up their session here this evening by agreeing to leave decisions on granting recognition to Yugoslavia's republics, scheduled for January 15, to each of the Twelve individually.

A majority of the E.C. countries consider that a report of the Arbitration Commission should be awaited before coming to a final decision, Joao de Deus Pinheiro, Portugal's foreign minister and chairman of the E.C. Council of Ministers, told his press conference. The conference Arbitration Commission has announced for tomorrow its report on which Yugoslav republics fulfill conditions to get recognized as provided for on last December 16.

Yugoslavia's four republics, namely Slovenia, Croatia, Macedonia and Bosnia-Hercegovina, submitted towards last December's end to the E.C. Presidency their requests to get their independence recognized. The E.C. ministers adopted "a declaration on Yugoslavia" not giving mention of granting recognition to the said Yugoslav republics.

Yugoslavia's republics have been called on to get fully engaged in making a success of the Conference on Yugoslavia. The declaration strongly supports the U.N. peace efforts for establishing a lasting cease-fire in Yugoslavia. In a declaration apart on Montenegro, the E.C. ministers acknowledge contributions by all sides in Yugoslavia to a peaceful solution for the conflict, and by Montenegro in particular.

The E.C. and its member countries are ready to adopt positive measures towards Montenegro, i.e. to lift economic sanctions imposed on November 8 last year against all of Yugoslavia's republics. In between, such measures ceased to hold good for Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia-Hercegovina and Macedonia.

Some E.C. ministers told the press today that this was accepted at the proposal of Lord Carrington, chairman of the Conference on Yugoslavia. The chairman of the E.C. Council of Ministers referred to his E.C. colleagues as saying that, surely, the E.C. monitor mission should be continued in Yugoslavia, but its safety must be drastically strengthened.

The downing of an E.C. monitor mission helicopter near the town of Varazdin, northwestern Croatia, last Tuesday was found to blame in the sharpest of terms. The Twelve insisted on a strict inquiry in that matter. "It is clear that the Federal authorities have accepted their responsibility in that matter," Pinheiro said in conclusion.

Kostic: EC Lacks Accord

LD1101223892 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1817 GMT 11 Jan 92

[Text] Titograd, Jan 11 (TANJUG)—Vice President of the Yugoslav state Presidency Branko Kostic said today that a decision by the European Community (E.C.) for each of its member countries to individually approach the recognition of Yugoslav republics, represented a "compromise solution" which confirmed the absence of full foreign policy accord within the Community.

The decision also signalled that Germany was continuing to exert dominant influence, said Kostic in a Radio Montenegro live broadcast. Kostic presumes that on January 15, a large number of countries would recognize the secessionist Yugoslav Republic of Slovenia, while fewer countries would recognize the other secessionist republic, Croatia.

Kostic added that the recognition of Croatia would probably be made contingent on the implementation of the peace plan. Just a few countries or none at all, he said, might recognize the Yugoslav Republics of Bosnia-Hercegovina and Macedonia which had also applied to the E.C. for recognition.

It was realistic to expect, as Kostic put it, that the leaderships of the latter two republics, together with those of Serbia and Montenegro which had not asked E.C. recognition because of already having their statehood, would re-define their relations. He emphasized that none of the nations was being denied the right and possibility to decide on its future fate peacefully and democratically.

What Kostic saw as the best and least painful solution for the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina was its staying in new Yugoslavia, because of "indivisible common life" of this Republic's Moslems, Serbs, and Croats, who otherwise are Yugoslavia's three biggest nations.

Kostic said that the current truce (15th ceasefire agreed in Sarajevo on January 3) had good chances to hold, and that U.N. envoy Cyrus Vance's plan was acceptable. As for Krajina Serbs leader Milan Babic's taking Vance's plan unacceptable, Kostic said he was aware of Babic's fear. Yet Babic's opposition, according to Kostic, was intended to lay emphasis on the problem of guarantees for Serbian people in the Republic of Serb Krajina.

Stressing that the engagement of U.N. peace forces could not have an alternative, and that these forces were not occupiers, Kostic explained that the arms of territorial defence units would not be moved out of Krajina. The engagement of U.N. forces was in no way encroaching on the question of authorities in Krajina, nor was it prejudicing any political solution, said Kostic.

Kostic's possible variant was to keep the Federal Army in Krajina, the Serb Republic within the administrative boundaries of Croatia today. This variant, however, after international recognition of Croatia, would spur on

foreign instigators of secession in an attempt aimed at recapturing the territories, thus forcing a long war of attrition with an uncertain outcome, said Kostic.

EC Ministerial Meeting Issues Declaration

LD1101021292 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0005 GMT 11 Jan 92

[Text] Brussels, January 10 (TANJUG)—At the E.C. ministerial meeting here today adopted was a declaration on Yugoslavia whose integral text runs as follows:

The Community and its member states welcome the resumption of the Conference on Yugoslavia chaired by Lord Carrington and call upon all republics to commit themselves fully to its successful outcome. The Community and its member states also strongly support the efforts of the special envoy of the secretary-general of the United Nations to promote the cease-fire agreed in Sarajevo on January 2, 1992. They warmly welcome the decision by the United Nations Security Council to send immediately to Yugoslavia a group of liaison officers who will work closely together with the monitor mission.

The Community and its member states reiterate their outrage at the intolerable aggression directed against the helicopters of the monitor mission, all the more so since all the parties to the conflict had given formal guarantees for the monitors' security. They strongly urge the authorities in Belgrade and the JNA [Yugoslav People's Army] to cooperate fully with the commission of inquiry, under the auspices of the monitor mission head, so that those responsible can be brought to justice.

The Community and its member states underline that the activities of the monitor mission to secure strict and explicit guarantees with regard to the security of the monitors so as to avoid any further incident.

The Community and its member states underline that the activities of the monitor mission of the European Community in Yugoslavia remain a key element of the peaceful settlement of the current crisis. They stress once again the courage shown by the monitors and express the hope that the peace process will continue with renewed determination.

Jovanovic Denies Carrington, Tudjman Remarks

AU1001215692 Belgrade RTV Sat TV in Serbo-Croatian 1930 GMT 10 Jan 92

[Interview with Vladislav Jovanovic, foreign minister of the Republic of Serbia, by Milan Mijailovic in Belgrade—live]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] [Mijailovic] Mr. Minister, press reports today caused much confusion among the public. They claim that Lord Carrington said in Brussels yesterday that he learned via Tudjman that President Milosevic allegedly said that the question of Serbs in Croatia is not a question about territory, but a question about minorities. Is this correct?

[Jovanovic] This was a free and obviously personal interpretation by Lord Carrington. I was present during the meeting between President Milosevic and Lord Carrington and can responsibly say that President Milosevic never said anything like that. He only repeated what we have said on so many occasions in the past—namely, that the Republic of Serbia has no territorial aspirations toward any of its neighbors, including the Republic of Croatia. However, Serbia is persistent and consistent in its stand of fully supporting the right of the Serbian people in Croatia to decide on their fate independently and on who they want to live with and how.

This right to physical protection and development in peace, without any fear that they can again be threatened by the same authorities who challenged them about a year ago, this right was very convincingly and clearly explained by the president to the end. This is the reason why he insisted that a special status contained in the two documents of Lord Carrington be enriched with new elements, such as the need for this special status to represent an integral part of this international agreement, that this be guaranteed by the international community and the United Nations, and, finally, that the people to which this refers be asked about their view on this—that is to say, whether they agree with it. This third element is a second name for the right to self- determination, which is an inalienable right and which cannot be contested by anyone in any democratic society or in any democratic dialogue on resolving political problems and, even more importantly, cannot be taken away. [passage omitted]

Jovanovic Predicts Lifting of EC Sanctions

AU1101205292 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 0400 GMT 11 Jan 92

[Text] EC ministers parted company in Brussels after last night's unsuccessful attempt to reach agreement on the joint recognition of the independence of Yugoslav republics. They agreed only that each country would do this on 15 January according to their own decisions. Apart from that, most ministers thought that the (?views) of the Arbitration Commission should be supported in this respect. The Commission's report is to be submitted to the governments of all EC countries today.

Greece warned Turkey, Bulgaria, and Italy that they would disturb relations with Athens if they recognized the independence of Macedonia under this name.

The Twelve adopted a special declaration on Montenegro, whereby it is freed from the sanctions that the EC had introduced against it and Serbia. Commenting on this decision, Serbian Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic assessed that this was a gentle way for the EC to withdraw from its wrong and biased policy regarding

the Yugoslav crisis. Jovanovic added that he was convinced that the sanctions against Serbia would also be very quickly withdrawn.

Kidnap, Escape of 4 EC Observers Reported

LD1001214992 Lisbon RTP-1 Television Network in Portuguese 1930 GMT 10 Jan 92

[Text] Two days ago, a Portuguese EC observer in Yugoslavia was kidnapped by the Federal Army, but managed to escape. The information was given to us by an independent source in Yugoslavia and arrives on the day the observers decided to resume their operations, although the incident of the EC helicopter shooting by the federal Air Force has not yet been totally clarified.

[Begin recording] [Correspondent Jose Rodrigues dos Santos] The EC observers resumed their work in a tense climate. There are strong beliefs that the death of their colleagues by a federal Air Force missile was a deliberate act by the Army's hard-line faction to delay the arrival of the UN blue helmets.

We had information today from an independent source in Yugoslavia that two days ago the Army kidnapped four of these observers, including a Portuguese national. The observers were kept for one and a half hours and then managed to escape, but the incident was never reported.

When resuming operations today, the observers said they want more solid guarantees for their safety.

[Joao Caetano da Silva, EC observers' spokesman, in English fading to Portuguese translation] We have decided to resume monitoring operations from 1200 hours today. The situation will be monitored daily, until there are explicit and satisfactory guarantees given from both sides.

[Dos Santos] The observers resumed their operations today to find the first serious threat to the six-day long cease-fire. Croatian Radio accused the federal Army of having opened artillery fire in the south. Despite the incident, the cease-fire is still in in force. [end recording]

U.S., Russian Troops May Take Part in UN Force

LD1301000592 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1150 GMT 12 Jan 92

[Text] Belgrade, Jan 12 (TANJUG)—An advance party of the United Nations peacekeeping force, made up of fifty liaison officers, is on its way to Yugoslavia. After a detailed inspection of the crisis areas in Yugoslavia, they will submit a report to the U.N. secretary-general and Security Council, after which the Council will make its decision on a deployment of a force of "blue helmets" in Yugoslavia and all its particulars.

This—19th—such action by U.N. peacekeeping forces since the foundation of the world organization, is expected to cost around 200 million dollars and will be funded jointly by the U.N. member-countries. The size of the force will probably be between 5,000 and 10,000 troops. It remains unknown exactly which countries will provide them, but there will certainly not be any from Germany, Italy, Hungary or Austria. This latest U.N. action could easily set a precedent in including U.S., Russian and French troops.

Under the U.N. plan, and in keeping with the established practice, the initial duration of the action will probably be set at six months, and it will last until a negotiated settlement is reached to the crisis. The operation in Yugoslavia will also be partly funded by the "various Yugoslav authorities." The hosts will provide the peacekeeping troops with accommodation, food and fuel free of charge, and full freedom of movement and communication. If the force numbers 10,000, the said costs will be not at all insignificant.

It is easy to conclude that apart from the incalculable benefit of establishing a truce or even totally restoring the peace in the country, even the warring sides can benefit in other ways from the peacekeeping force. Three items in the "Yugoslav operation" are very important—the financing of the "blue helmets," food and fuel. The financing will come from the U.N. centre in New York, but the hard currency will flow into Yugoslav banks.

The peacekeeping force is expected to have three centres in Yugoslavia—Belgrade, Zagreb and Sarajevo—a clearly defined job for banks in those cities. The food cost of the force will be covered by states, or republics, which will be a benefit to food manufacturers.

Finally, by taking on the obligation to provide the force with all its fuel needs the Yugoslavs will sidestep the danger of having the Security Council impose an oil embargo against Yugoslavia. Wherever they were deployed in the past, the "blue helmets" showed that their purchasing power was considerable—their pay will be very high by Yugoslav standards, and as a rule they send home little of their income, preferring to spend it where they are deployed. Many Lebanese, Cypriots and Israelis have grown rich thanks to this trait of the "blue helmets." It is clear that the principal objective both for the United Nations and Yugoslavia is peace and the creation of conditions for a final solution to the Yugoslav crisis, but it certainly would not be a bad thing if we earned something in the process, many Yugoslavs say.

Defense Secretariat Comments on Helicopter Downing

LD1001202192 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1822 GMT 10 Jan 92

[Text] Belgrade, 10 Jan (TANJUG)—The commission of the Federal Secretariat for National Defense, chaired by Colonel General Milan Ruzinovski, submitted a report in connection with the downing of the EC observer mission helicopter on 7 January 1992, on which occasion five members of this mission died. This was announced

by this evening by the Information Service of the Federal Secretariat for National Defense.

The information gathered by the Commission, the communique says, shows that the attack by a Yugoslav Air Force fighter aircraft on two mission helicopters that were flying from Hungary on the Kaposvar-Zagreb route occurred due to mistakes on the part of a number of bodies and a series of unfavorable circumstances caused by the exceptionally complex situation in Yugoslavia's airspace.

Bodies of the Yugoslav Air Force that received the information on the overflight of the EC observer mission helicopters failed to forward this information to the command's subordinates. Because of this and a number of other failures, a mistake occurred in identifying the aircraft, their real intentions, and the action taken with regard to these aircraft.

The EC observer mission organized the helicopter flights, despite the fact that it did not receive permission for the overflight of the helicopters from Kaposvar to Zagreb from the Federal Flight Control Administration.

Bodies of the Republic of Croatia, contrary to existing Federal regulations and international documents, illegally took upon themselves the duty of flight control in Yugoslav airspace above Croatia, disregarding flight safety in this area.

The statement continues:

As announced, due to negligence on the part of the Air Force and anti-aircraft defense, the SFRY Presidency has suspended the commander of the Air Force and anti-aircraft defense until all the circumstances of this tragic event have been examined and determined.

The military prosecutor has submitted a demand for a criminal investigation to be undertaken against the responsible officer in the operational center of the Air Force and anti-aircraft defense headquarters, while competent officers have started the procedure in the military disciplinary court against four officers on duty in the Air Force and anti-aircraft defense headquarters, the Corps headquarters, and the units subordinate to them that are responsible for the areas in which this event took place.

These and other measures, which the Federal Secretariat for National Defense has been undertaking in keeping with its powers and resposibilities are designed to energetically and completely investigate this case, and to prevent further such incidents. This in no way prejudges the conclusions and measures of the commissions set up by the Federal Executive Council.

We also expect other organs to undertake measures within their jurisdiction to avoid any disagreements and omissions that might affect the safety of the members of the EC observer mission, the Information Service of the Federal Secretariat for National Defense states in conclusion.

EC Mission Issues Statement

LD1101122992 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 11 Jan 92

[Text] Jaoa da Silva, spokesman for the European observer mission, issued the following statement today:

1. Concerning various statements and claims by the Belgrade media that the helicopter flight from Belgrade to Zagreb via Kaposvar was not reported in the agreed way, we state that this is not true.

2. It should be added to this that the statement allegedly issued by the Defense Ministry and read on Belgrade television on 11 January contained incorrect information. The facts indicate the opposite. The flight of the helicopter on the Belgrade-Kaleb-Kaposvar-Letenye-Varazdin-Zagreb [names as heard] route was notified by the mission's office in Belgrade to the Belgrade air control office on 6 January at around 1840. The flight announcement was made based on the agreement between the European observer mission and the Yugoslav People's Army. Within 30 minutes, an employee of the air traffic control office in Belgrade confirmed that the flight route had been approved.

3. Therefore, it should be stressed that the agreed procedure on the announcement of the helicopter flight was strictly observed.

Kostic: Downing Not in Protest

LD1101105192 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1025 GMT 11 Jan 92

[Text] Belgrade, January 11 (TANJUG)—Vice President of the Yugoslav Presidency Branko Kostic characterized as incorrect the interpretation that the downing of the E.C. observer mission helicopter in Yugoslavia was an expression of the Army's disagreement with the peace plan put forth by United Nations secretary general special envoy Cyrus Vance.

The Yugoslav Defence Ministry has confirmed that the E.C. helicopter had been downed on Tuesday [7 January] in the vicinity of Varazdin in Croatia by a Yugoslav People's Army (JNA) airforce jet. Five members of the E.C. observer mission to Yugoslavia were killed in the incident—four Italians and one Frenchman.

In a statement published in today's daily BORBA, Kostic does not exclude the possibility of negligence and perhaps, the diabolic intentions of somebody in the JNA, who perhaps concealed the announcement of the flight of the two helicopters from Hungary, one of which was shot down.

Kostic did not exclude the possibility of the irresponsibility of of others, but did not wish to accuse anybody until the investigation had been completed.

Kostic categorically rejected any linking of Yugoslav Defence Minister Veljko Kadijevic's resignation with the downing of the helicopter.

Kadijevic resigned on Wednesday [8 January] stating health reasons.

The Yugoslav Presidency, as supreme commander of the armed forces of Yugoslavia, following Tuesday's incident, immediately suspended JNA Airfoce commander General Zvonko Jurjevic.

Flight Control Denies Responsibility

LD1301011992 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2238 GMT 12 Jan 92

[Text] Belgrade, January 12 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Federal Flight Control Administration denied that "responsible person" of this body stated that the flight of the downed E.C. helicopter has been regularly approved on the whole route from Belgrade to Zagreb, via the Hungarian town, Kaposvar. Such a claim, as set out, was put forth in the announcement of the E.C. observer mission made public on Saturday.

No employee of the Federal Flight Control Administration is authorized to address the public except its director, it was said in the note handed by the administration to TANJUG on Sunday night. Director of the Federal Flight Control Administration Karl Drago attended on January 11 and 12 the tri-partite talks in Pec in Hungary and was, therefore, not in the position to give any statement for the press, as set out in the denial of the Federal Flight Control Administration.

Only after the talks, he was informed extensively about the affair and at his request it was established that none of the competent employees of the Federal Flight Control Administration gave any such statement, as noted in the denial of the Yugoslav Federal Flight Control Administration.

Government Asks Italy To Revoke Air Suspension

LD1001205792 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1840 GMT 10 Jan 92

[Text] Belgrade, Jan 10 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Government today called on the Italian Government to revoke its decision on the suspension of the agreement on air transport with Yugoslavia, which became effective yesterday morning, and to do so in the interest of the further development of good-neighbourly cooperation between the two countries and in keeping with the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) principles.

In a note sent to the Italian Embassy in Belgrade, the Yugoslav Foreign Secretariat set out that Italy had instantly suspended the bilateral agreement on air transport, although it was obliged to notify the International Civil Aviation Organization first, in which case the agreement would have ceased to be valid only a year after the notification was received.

Italy suspended the agreement on air transport with Yugoslavia after a Yugoslav Air Force jet downed a helicopter of the European Community monitor mission in Yugoslavia over Croatia on January 7. Five E.C. monitors were killed in the incident—four Italians and one Frenchman.

The Presidency of Yugoslavia immediately ordered an investigation and suspended air force commander, Col-Gen. Zvonko Jurjevic.

The note said that the Yugoslav Government would appreciate it (?if the) Italian side was to send an authorized representative to take part in the work of the commission which is investigating the helicopter incident.

The Yugoslav Government stressed that the degree of a possible responsibility of Yugoslav federal and Croatian authorities and foreign factors could be established only after the commission presented its findings.

Federal

Defense Minister Adzic: Army Dedicated to Peace

LD1101151192 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1304 GMT 11 Jan 92

[Text] Belgrade, 11 Jan (TANJUG)—Colonel General Blagoje Adzic, chief of the General Staff of the Yugoslav Armed Forces, today told TANJUG that "the Army leadership is firmly orientated toward peace and the peaceful and democratic resolution of the crisis by political dialogue and not war."

In a statement to Dusan Radovanovic, the acting editor in chief of TANJUG, General Adzic, who now holds the post of federal secretary for national defense, stressed that the Army will observe all international obligations that were made on its behalf by Army General Veljko Kadijevic, former federal secretary for national defense.

In connection with the resignation of Army General Veljko Kadijevic as federal secretary for national defense, there has been all kinds of speculation here and abroad, Adzic said. This mostly refers to the alleged victory and supremacy of hard-liners, who, it is arbitrarily claimed, do not like the option of a peaceful and democratic solution to our country's crisis and who have interests that are not those of society.

These are all unfounded, tendentious, and extremely ill-intentioned insinuations with which attempts are continuing to be made to discredit the Army and its leadership, Adzic said.

The Army will continue to consistently and extremely responsibly carry out all the commitments that it is given by the SFRY Presidency, continued Adzic. It will also observe all international obligations that were made on its behalf by Army General Veljko Kadijevic, former federal secretary for national defense.

The Army leadership will, as before, make every effort to preserve the cease-fire, consolidate the truce, and create

conditions for the soonest possible arrival of UN peacekeeping forces in the crisis regions of Croatia. The Army will not impose political solutions to the Yugoslav crisis, nor has it done so before, stated Adzic.

At this critical historical juncture, on which the future of all our nations depends, the establishment and preservation of peace is our most important task. I am sure that we are not alone in these beliefs. Peace and rational political dialogue are preferable to the war that was imposed on us by those forces that trampled underfoot the basic democratic principles in relations between peoples and nations for the sake of achieving their own secessionist aims, Adzic continued. The war, which has been waged for several months now in part of Yugoslavia, was not begun by the Army. That war was imposed on us.

As on many occasions before, Adzic said, I am again stating with full responsibility that the Army leadership is firmly orientated toward peace and the peaceful and democratic solution of the crisis by political dialogue and not war. Whether the cease-fire is stabilized depends solely on the other side, which began the war and has constantly violated cease-fire agreements.

I would like to believe, Adzic continued, that the advocates of the policy of fait accompli and force have become aware of the fact that the war cannot bring anyone or any nation tranquillity, but only more casualties and unnecessary destruction. We are therefore giving peace a chance, in the establishment of which we believe the United Nations will assist as an unbiased world forum. This is, in these difficult circumstances, the only correct way out of the present crisis, which is in the interest of all nations in this land, and in the interest of the security of the Serbian nation in Croatia and the realization of its legitimate rights, concluded General Blagoje Adzic.

Jovic on Kadijevic Resignation

LD1001173292 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1626 GMT 10 Jan 92

[Text] Titograd, Jan 10 (TANJUG)—The situation in the military leadership of Yugoslavia is completely normal and it is pure speculation that something dramatic is under way there, member of the Yugoslav State Presidency from the Republic of Serbia Borisav Jovic told journalists in Titograd today, the capital of the Yugoslav Republic of Montenegro.

The Belgrade daily VECERNJE NOVOSTI published two days ago news from New York that Yugoslav Deputy Defence Minister Admiral Stane Brovet informed U.N. secretary-general's special envoy Cyrus Vance about an attempted military overthrow within the Yugoslav Army leadership. The Yugoslav Defence Ministry yesterday energetically denied the news.

Jovic told journalists that Army General Veljko Kadijevic resigned from the post of Yugoslav defence minister "solely out of health reasons, which had been announced earlier."

The Yugoslav Defence Ministry on January 7 announced that Kadijevic informed the Yugoslav State Presidency on December 31 that he can no longer perform the duties of federal defence minister "due to deteriorting health."

"The only reason why the Yugoslav State Presidency did not announce his final decision on December 31 is because it did not wish to disturb the activity of U.N. special envoy Cyrus Vance who at the time was holding talks in Yugoslavia on establishing peace," Jovic said.

Jovic also underscored that the Yugoslav state leaderhip wanted to enable Vance to report back to the United Nations on "stable foundations" about the talks with Yugoslav politicians, "and not for Vance to arrive in New York, while our minister, with whom he had talks, is handing in his resignation."

Markovic on Vacation, Not Under House Arrest

LD1101100792 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1321 GMT 10 Jan 92

[Text] Belgrade, 10 Jan (TANJUG)—Ante Markovic, recently resigned president of the Federal Executive Council [FEC], is on a vacation that ends at the end of January, TANJUG has learned from the FEC. Markovic is in Zagreb on vacation, and he is not under house arrest as some papers have implied. He has been on vacation since 20 December, when he read to FEC members and journalists his statement on "the handing back of his mandate."

Whether Markovic, after his vacation, will again "lead" the FEC pending the election of a new government, as envisaged in the SFRY Constitution, is not reliably known, but it is known that from his apartment in Zagreb he occasionally gets in touch with his cabinet and other FEC colleagues.

"I am not under house arrest," Markovic confirmed in a statement to HINA (Croatian news agency) carried by today's OSLOBODJENJE. He said this when asked to comment on the recent news story in BORBA entitled "Prime Minister Under House Arrest?" "I have been in Zagreb since 20 December and I move about, although not a great deal," Markovic replied.

Ante Markovic has otherwise still not yet informed the president of the SFRY Assembly in writing of "the handing back of his mandate."

Kostic Defends UN Plan, Reassures Krajina

AU0901203492 Belgrade RTV Sat TV in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 9 Jan 92

[Remarks by Branko Kostic, vice president of the SFRY Presidency, in Belgrade on 9 January—recorded]

[Text] In choosing between two possible solutions, whether we should defend and maintain the things that have been achieved so far with peace, by engaging the peace force—under the aegis of the United Nations and the Security Council—or whether we should opt for a long and uncertain period of constantly facing outbreaks of fighting in the area, with a possibility of the war hot spot spreading to other parts of Yugoslavia, we are in doubt at all that we should persevere with this plan. I do not think that the views of any political leadership, including the views of the leadership of Krajina, justify putting a question mark over the UN peace plan.

This does not mean that we are leaving those people to their fate. If there is one thing that we have done so far—in fact everything we have been doing—is to protect those people there, to provide protection, to help them in the defense of their hearths. Mr. Babic, and the leadership of Krajina, have no reason at all to doubt the intentions of the SFRY Presidency or the leadership of Serbia, and the Republic of Serbia. If need be, they would again extend help to and protect those people in the future.

However, if we have a chance to do this in a peaceful way under the aegis of the United Nations and the Security Council, and if there is a chance for the people who are now at the front to return to their homes, lay down their weapons, and start working, start creating what we all should live from, then I think we have no alternative in making the choice.

Interrepublic

Babic Responds to Milosevic on UN Forces

LD1101231592 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1256 GMT 11 Jan 92

[Text] Knin, 11 Jan (TANJUG)—Milan Babic, president of the Republic of Serbian Krajina, today sent an open letter to Slobodan Milosevic in response to a letter he received from the Serbian president.

The letter, which Milan Babic today handed to a TANJUG correspondent in Knin, says:

Dear Mr. President,

In reply to your open letter, I have no intention of denying point by point your denunciation—contained in your letter addressed to me but, in fact, intended for the Serbian people of the Republic of Serbian Krajina—although I could, of course, proceed in that way.

I will not do that because I believe that your letter addressed to me, unfortunately for both sides, speaks much more about you than about me. In that sense, it reveals so much that any additional explanation that I can give would be superfluous. I avail myself of this opportunity—which was imposed upon me—to clarify to you and to the international public our stands and, thus, at the same time, to deny your arbitrary denunciation that I am opposed to peace, that I advocate war, and that my position proceeds from my alleged greed for power and a desire to achieve political prestige.

The proposed peace plan by Cyrus Vance includes the deployment of UN peacekeeping forces on the whole of the territory of the free territory of Serbian Krajina, provided its armed forces are previously disarmed. In addition, the territory at which, according to the plan, the peacekeeping forces would be deployed is mentioned as a part of an alleged Croatian territory under UN protection. Throughout that territory—the territory of the Republic of Serbian Krajina, according to the plan which you have already accepted—the constitutional and legal system of the Republic of Croatia would be in force and would be applied. This is one aspect of Cyrus Vance's plan that you accepted and that we refused to accept.

Another aspect regarding this and any other future plan regarding the deployment of the peacekeeping forces is the length of time during which the forces will be deployed, namely six months. Any extension after these six months will depend on a new decision of the Security Council, provided that all warring sides, including Croatia, give their consent prior to that.

You, Mr. President, know very well that the Serbian people of the Republic of Serbian Krajina, using its right to self-determination, voted in favor of the Republic of Serbian Krajina. Therefore, there are neither legal nor political reasons to apply the Croatian constitutional and legal system on the territory of the Republic of Serbian Krajina. The Croatian constitutional and legal system does not recognize the existence of the Serbs and, in light of the historical experience and the current crime perpetrated by those who are implementing that constitutional and legal system, it can be expected that reality will soon be coordinated with their own imposed norms. Namely, they will implement their genocide plan of ethnically pure Croatia in its entirety, provided that Cyrus Vance's peace plan is accepted. As you can see, the price of accepting this plan is not low and as naive as you would like to present it. That price would be certainly paid by blood.

To avoid the war and establish a lasting peace, and to achieve a just settlement of this conflict, we put forward a proposal to accept another version, another concept, of Cyrus Vance's peace plan that envisages the deployment of blue helmets along the line separating the Croatian neo-Nazi aggressors and the defending armed forces of the Republic of Serbian Krajina—a line which, at the same time, represents the border between the Republic of Serbian Krajina and Croatia. Such deployment of the peacekeeping forces, which has so far exclusively been applied in practice when UN forces were deployed in crisis spots of the world, would not only prejudge a political solution—because it cannot do so due to the fact that a political solution had been found before the armed conflict started, and both the Serbian and the

Croatian nations expressed their will to live in separate states—it would contribute to the creation of the Republic of Serbian Krajina. For the whole of the Serbian people, it would mean the arrival of the coveted peace and a just resolution of this conflict. Since you knew about all these efforts of ours, we do not understand on what basis you reached a conclusion that we oppose peace and favor war. Who can care more than us that peace comes to the Republic of Serbian Krajina, because we are dying for our freedom together with the Serbian patriots, who are not indifferent toward our suffering.

As for the length of time during which the peacekeeping forces will be deployed, it has been agreed that they will be deployed for six months only. We are not ready to put our fate in the unsteady hands of other people through our disarmament; that is, we are not ready to let other people make decisions on our most vital interest—the question of our survival—because permanent Security Council members may not adopt a decision to prolong the UN peacekeeping forces' six-month period, due to God knows whose interest and whose mutual agreements. Of course, you know that it is sufficient that only one of those five countries uses its veto over the decision, and this would automatically mean that the decision cannot be adopted. If we add that, to prolong the UN peacekeeping forces' six-month period it is necessary to obtain consent of the Croatian side, then the issue becomes completely clear. Can you or anybody else really believe that Croatia will agree to the presence of the UN peacekeeping forces in that area if the Republic of Serbian Krajina is disarmed?

Any action by the Yugoslav Army—if it remained in existence in that situation at all and if the UN forces withdrew—would be qualified as an aggression in light of the mentioned facts.

Mr. President, under the mentioned conditions I could not accept that version of the plan, and reasons for my refusal should be sought within that context and not in my own selfishness, lust for power, or political prestige. In that, I share your opinion that the people must not be a victim of anybody's policy or selfishness. Of course, this does not mean—I will underline it again, because I hold it particularly important in light of your denunciation addressed to me—that I do not accept the version of the plan according to which UN peacekeeping forces will be deployed along the conflict line.

The plan that you accepted will not be accepted by the Serbian people of the Republic of Serbian Krajina, and I am convinced that it will be unacceptable for all those Serbs to whom their historical and political fate matters. The fact that you agreed to make decisions on behalf of the part of the Serbian people that you do not officially represent and, despite our well-intentioned suggestions that you should do everything so that the part of our historical responsibility is left for us to shoulder, is your personal decision that is, in no way, binding on us.

Unlike you, who think that one man alone can decide the fate of the Serbian people in these crucial and dramatic times, when they are fighting for their survival, I think that such a person, however capable—who can and who dares to take upon himself the burden of such historic responsibility—does not exist. The Serbian people cannot be reduced to their historic grandeur; they represent this grandeur, as well as something much higher than that.

We were particularly upset to hear you say that the citizens of Serbia were not and would never be our hostages. We thought and we maintain the view that the Serbian people knew who would become hostages, if we were to assume that the plan you accepted was implemented. I hope you have not thought—by recalling the support and aid that we received from the Serbian people in Serbia—of attributing this to your good deeds, while reproaching us, and me in particular, that we denied it. We are grateful to our brothers, and we are well aware of what we are and what we would be without them. However, you must realize that the enemy is also aware of it. This is why everyone who asks this kind of question and issues such denunciations automatically aligns himself with those who will not be able to avoid historic responsibility.

Our hands are stretched toward Serbia and toward all Serbs. Whether they will be accepted does not depend on us alone. It is a matter for everyone's conscience. We have been accepted wholeheartedly so far. We see no reason why this should not be so in the future. Your objections, because of the Serbian support for us, we can only interpret as an appeal that this support be no longer given in the future. However, there is no way that the Serbian people would ever obey such an order, should anyone issue it.

At the worst, should we have to face this absurd fact and the curse that Serbia would turn against us, we would face it. However, we do not think that this would be a greater tragedy for us than for Serbia. Nonetheless, no patriot would ever doubt that this would be our tragedy and our judgment. We will defend ourselves successfully, even in such a situation, with the help, of course, from the Serbs who care about the Serbian national issue. We believe that Serbia will not and cannot take the side of the enemy.

It is worth noting that former Serbia had very much to do with the hell in which we lived before, and we hope that the present-day Serbia will not repent for having helped us to escape that hell. Krajina, which until recently was not free, is now in the thoughts of the whole world: Serbia and the Serbian people are highly meritorious for that. Our descendants will know how to appreciate the historical value of your efforts. You, Mr. President, are not obliged to share our destiny, as your letter may suggest. However, do not join the denunciations that you criticized before. Your call that the Serbs from the Republic of Serbian Krajina should, in the

future, send other more suitable Serbs for the cooperation with the leadership in Serbia today cannot be interpreted in any other way but as a call for the toppling of legitimate government bodies and myself personally as the president of the Republic of Serbian Krajina. The last thing that comes to my mind is to send such a call to the Serbian people in the Republic of Serbia.

The dictatorship of King Aleksandar was said to have been the cause of the genocide against the Serbs in the independent state of Croatia, and the cause of the present one is thought to be your policy. Did you perhaps take this to be true? Do you not think that the roots of the crime perpetrated by the Croatian Ustashas are much deeper and that they are beyond any explanation. Finally, it is not the time to reveal all we know, because we are well aware that, in this conflict, the winner can only be the third party.

SDS Leaders Air Opposing Views

LD1001204592 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1818 GMT 10 Jan 92

[Text] Knin, Belgrade, Jan 10 (TANJUG)—The leadership of the Serbian Democratic Party (SDS) in the town of Knin today took the stand that a letter sent recently by President of the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia Slobodan Milosevic to President of the Republic of Serbian Krajina Milan Babic was an "Open call for a putsch and the overthrow of the legally elected president of the Republic of Serbian Krajina."

The Knin SDS leadership issued a statement today instead of Babic holding the announced news conference. No explanation was offered for why the news conference had been cancelled. Milosevic said in the letter that Babic's stand against the deployment of U.N. peace-keeping troops in Krajina was an extremely irresponsible action, which he said meant that Babic was for the continuation of the war in Yugoslavia.

Refusing to accept the secessionist policy of the Croatian leadership, the Serbs in Croatia have proclaimed their own republic, which is made up of the areas where Serbs are in a majority. The Knin SDS leadership set out in today's statement that Milosevic's letter sounded like blackmail and an ultimatum and that it represented a dangerous intention "To cause a rift and mutual reckoning among the Serbian people."

On the other hand, representatives of the other current in the SDS for the Knin and Bosnia Krajinas Dusan Zelmbaba, Vinko Stupar and Slavko Graovac lent support to Milosevic's letter at a news conference in Belgrade today, but set out that the letter had come too late. Zelembaba, Stupar and Graovac said that Babic and SDS President for Bosnia-Hercegovina Radovan Karadzic were working against the interests of the Serbian people.

Zelembaba, Stupar and Graovac opposed the founding of separate republics by Serbs in Croatia and Bosnia-Hercegovina, and urged that a single Krajina be formed instead, on which the Serbs in Croatia and Bosnia-Hercegovina would decide in a U.N.-monitored referendum. They said that the new state could later join the mother republic, Serbia, should the people so decide.

Draskovic, Izetbegovic Discuss Interstate Ties

AU1201194092 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 12 Jan 92

[Text] At the roundtable on authority and the opposition in Sarajevo, Alija Izetbegovic [president of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency and president of the Party of Democratic Action] and Vuk Draskovic [president of the Serbian Renewal Movement] have introduced their solutions for the Yugoslav crisis. Izetbegovic and Draskovic are guests at a public discussion forum to take place this evening. Ljubomir Nikolic has the details from Sarajevo:

[Begin Nikolic recording] Of the politicians who were invited from outside Bosnia-Hercegovina, only Vuk Draskovic arrived for the meeting in Sarajevo. The organizers said that this was because of fog and other transport difficulties.

Accompanied by Alija Izetbegovic, Ejup Ganic, and other leaders of the Party of Democratic Action, Draskovic has been in Sarajevo since yesterday. Last night, he appeared on Sarajevo television, and this evening he and Izetbegovic will be participating in a public forum at the youth center in the Skenderija part of Sarajevo. We are, therefore, talking about a new political friendship between Vuk Draskovic and Alija Izetbegovic.

After he had conveyed greetings from Milan Kucan and Mika Tripalo to the roundtable participants, Alija Izetbegovic said that any possible community [zajednica] or association on Yugoslav territory could be called a community of Yugoslav or south Slav states, or a Balkan community. It would be comprised of six independent states of the present republics. Internal relations would be determined on the basis of the agreements reached to date in The Hague and Brussels, as well as on what will be agreed upon later.

Borders between these states would be without customs and not require passports. Each state would initially have its own currency, with a single currency linked to the ECU planned for later. The army would be transformed in such a way that the air force and rocket units would be under joint command, with each state retaining an armed force. The independent states would sign a non-aggression and friendship pact and would be associate members of the EC, while their community would be part of the system of European collective security. Bosnia-Hercegovina is prepared to be the first to introduce this type of border with its neighbors, Izetbegovic said.

In his opinion, a new constitution in Bosnia-Hercegovina should introduce the institution of a chamber of peoples and decisionmaking through consensus on some important issues regarding ethnic equality. Izetbegovic said that a natiocracy [naciokratija] should be removed in favor of civilian democracy, and Bosnia-Hercegovina would have the same attitude toward Croatia and Serbia. A referendum should be organized on this in Bosnia-Hercegovina, and Izetbegovic thinks that this should be a referendum conducted along nationality lines, in order to ascertain who voted for what if need be.

Vuk Draskovic has a somewhat different vision of a future community. According to him, it would be made up of the four states of Serbia, Montenegro, Bosnia-Hercegovina, and Macedonia. These states would have first a customs and then an economic union with Croatia and Slovenia. Draskovic proposed that a common parliament and a council of ministers of the four states should be set up, and the Serbs should sign an historic agreement with Croats, Muslims, and Albanians.

Izetbegovic has been the first of our politicians to put forward a plan for the transformation of the Army, Vuk Draskovic said, and pointed out that his opinion is somewhat different. According to Draskovic, the future community would have its own navy, air force, and rocket units and other [words indistinct] branches of the Army. Later, each state would have its own republic army, but there would be no national army.

It was agreed that the Sarajevo talks would be resumed in two weeks. [end recording]

Serbian Ruling Parties Hold Cooperation Talks

AU1001170292 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 10 Jan 92

[Text] The delegations of the Socialist Party of Serbia and the Democratic Party of the Socialists of Montenegro today discussed interparty cooperation. The talks were attended by Borisav Jovic, Mihajlo Markovic, Bogdan Trifunovic, and Petar Skundric, from Belgrade, and Momir Bulatovic, Svetozar Marovic, Milica Pejanovic, and Milutin Ojdanic, from Montenegro. While speaking to journalists, the heads of the delegations, Dr. Borisav Jovic and Momir Bulatovic, stressed that the talks represented fruitful and sincere contacts between the two parties. Jagos Stojanovic reports:

[Begin Stojanovic recording] The two parties clearly chose the peaceful option of settling the Yugoslav crisis and expressed support for all initiatives striving for peace, particularly to the peace plan of the special envoy of the UN secretary general, Cyrus Vance.

Both parties hold the view that the Republics of Serbia and Montenegro, as well as the Serbian and Montenegrin people, should continue to live in a common state, in which relations will be regulated on the basis of complete equality, regardless of the level of integration. The two parties also think that the Belgrade initiative is a realistic starting point for the constitutional reorganization of the Yugoslav state. The initiative is open to further adaptation, in line with the prevailing political situation.

Proceeding from the interests of these republics and their people, as well as the citizens who live in them, the two party delegations agreed that they will jointly work on the fullest and earliest possible implementation of the initiative, and on stopping the erosion of the common state. In this context, they will launch certain initiatives with their governments and assemblies concerning the transformation of the common state in a way that will enable other republics that want to live in the common state to participate in this equally.

The Democratic Party of the Socialists of Montenegro briefed the Socialist Party of Serbia on the decision of the Montenegrin Assembly to hold a referendum in which the citizens will say whether they want to live in a common state. [end recording]

Croat, Serb Discuss War, Hatred on German TV

92BA0248A Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 6 Dec 91 p 5

[Article by Nijaz Selmanovic: "Conversations About Yugoslavia on German Television: 'They Came From Behind Those Hills in 1941'"]

[Text] The night before last Belgrade Television broadcast a program from German television, "Controversial Matters," in which there was a conversation about Yugoslavia. Participating in the conversation were Dr. Zarko Puhovski, assistant professor in the Faculty of Political Sciences in Zagreb, Radomir Smiljanic, author and president of the Serbian Democratic Party in Belgrade, and Hans Peter Rize, for many years a correspondent from East Europe, who knows conditions in Yugoslavia well. We are presenting the most interesting parts from this program.

Serb and Croat at the Same Table

The moderator began the program with the question: Is it possible for a Croat and a Serb to sit together at the same table and have a discussion?

"Yes, as you see," answered Puhovski. "However, the question is how important this is. We have that every day, because there are between 70,000 and 80,000 Serbs living in Zagreb, we're still conversing with them, but we know and feel that this is secondary, since not only are there many Serbs and Croats at war, but there have been outbreaks of hatred from both sides, so that people who try to rationalize things, unfortunately, represent an irrelevant minority and that is the main problem."

[Moderator] Mr. Smiljanic, hatred and war. Who really began this war?

[Smiljanic] We are now on a broadcast whose working title is "Yugoslavia in Flames." You know that the house

is on fire and the whole time the house is burning, but hasn't yet burned up, it still exists. This means, while Yugoslavia stands in flames, it still exists. And those who thought about wiping Yugoslavia out laid down the fire—of that I am convinced.

[Moderator] Can you be more specific: Who is that?

[Smiljanic] Yes, multinational companies. I can't prove it exactly, but I can tell you clearly that there are areas in Yugoslavia where radioactive waste is being deposited, or where nuclear power plants were supposed to be built. Plans exist and they have now been disclosed: for example, in the town of Dalj on the Danube, which is populated mainly by Serbs, or in Prevlaca, also near the Danube, where nuclear power plants were supposed to be built, or for example on Bilo-gora and Papuk, where 27 Serbian villages were "cleared out" and the Serbs evacuated from there.

[Moderator] According to your theory of an international conspiracy, you did not begin this conflict, but it was initiated from outside?

[Smiljanic] I should say that it was also begun from inside, but I would return to the last century, not only to refer to history, but to show that the continuity of a policy is involved, or a racist ideology that Messrs. Ante Starcevic and Eugen Kvaternik represented. I quote Ante Starcevic: The animalistic and spiritual are represented in man. The spiritual relates to Croats and the animalistic largely to Serbs." This could mean that Serbs in which there is the animalistic should be treated like animals....

Who Began the War?

[Moderator] Mr. Rize, who began this war?

[Rise] That is a question that doesn't bring us forward one step. Naturally, it can be said that the Croats began the war in that they proclaimed their independence and did not provide sufficient rights in their Constitution for the Serbian minority. It can be said that Serbia began the war, since it called upon its minority in Croatia to join Serbia.... What is terrible in this situation is that two peoples are involved who lived together for so many years in one country. As late as June of this year I was in Croatia, and no one said to me, "Yes, we will have war."

[Moderator] Mr. Puhovski, where did such unbelievable hatred come from between these two peoples, who had lived for decades in peace, one beside the other?

[Puhovski] I think that it is also difficult for us to understand how quickly and surprisingly history has come to life, how quickly whole villages, within a period of two weeks, have completely and naturally oriented themselves to 1941. I was one of the last Croats in Knin. It was even then the center of Serbian uprisings in Croatia. The people said quite clearly as far back as 13 months ago: "They came from behind those hills in 1941 and they will again come from behind those same hills." Although not a single Croat there appeared with a weapon, they nevertheless expect it. This means that if one lives only in 1941 then one lives in a conflict between the Ustashi and Chetniks.

[Moderator] Would you explain that more clearly?

[Puhovski] The Ustashi are Croatian fascists who established a formally independent state of Croatia, more or less with Hitler's help. The Chetniks were insurgents who supposedly fought against the fascists in the name of the king. I don't believe that they really did that, but the Ustashi killed the Chetniks and the Chetniks killed the Ustashi. Who did that to a lesser or greater degree is not important for me. I am completely prepared to say that the Ustashi had concentration camps, and the Chetniks did not, if that is important.... If one begins with the question how everything began, the facts are as follows: our first casualty fell on Easter Monday. Then, at the beginning of May, there were another seven casualties, before the army intervened. After that we have had another 10,000 killed. The second fact is that this is a war that is being waged in Croatia. I do not believe that this is in essence a war between Serbs and Croats, but, unfortunately, a war between the JNA [Yugoslav People's Army] and Croatia. And that's the worst thing.

[Moderator] Mr. Smiljanic, do you agree with Puhovski that the Serbian and Croatian people are not fighting, but the JNA and Croatia?

[Smiljanic] I would change that sequence. I would say that the Serbs were attacked first, and not Serbs in Serbia, but outside Serbia. You know well what the sequence was: First a constitution has been adopted in Croatia in which it was said that Croatia was a country of Croats and other peoples. Up to now the Constitution stated that Croatia was a country of Croats, Serbs, and other peoples, because there are about 700,000 Serbs alone in Croatia.... The Serbian people, as well as the Croatian and the Slovene people, as long as Yugoslavia exists, are a nation-building people. Thus Serbs in Croatia, or Bosnia, or Macedonia, or God knows where, are not a minority anywhere. Croats in Serbia are Croatian people.

The Punishment Is Too Great

[Moderator] Is Croatia agreeing to talks and negotiations? Is Tudjman indeed a president who has political power, and what do you think of the rumors that Vukovar was intentionally sacrificed in order to direct the attention of the world public to the Croatian drama?

[Puhovski] I must say that I do not believe that, but there are always such rumors in war. At the moment one simple question is important: If the Croats are indeed guilty of many things, the punishment is still too great.

[Smiljanic] I agree.

[Puhovski] I must say once again that we had a so-called system where many provocations have come from the

Croatian side, but the first eight dead fell on the Croatian side and there are now many more dead on this side. Croatia is prepared for talks, I would say, up to the middle of March. Then there will probably be a terrible Croatian counteroffensive, a suicidal attempt at a counteroffensive.

[Smiljanic] Will Paraga or Tudjman organize it?

[Puhovski] That is not important at the moment.

[Moderator] Tudjman jailed Paraga because he is a rightist?

[Puhovski] I spoke yesterday with several Paraga people. Paraga has no more than 1,200 men. It has been said 15,000, but that's not true. He's not important, people who are much stronger than Paraga are important, who are prepared to lead Croatia to independence. And that could result in more than 100,000 casualties. So we now have good fortune in misfortune in that winter is coming, now combat operations will not be so brutal.

[Moderator] May I ask our Yugoslav guests what they think about the role of Europe?

[Puhovski] I think that Europe has made a number of wrong moves. At the beginning it was said Yugoslavia, all right, therefore support to the Army. But without the application of force. Then the Croats and Slovenes thought they could do what they wanted, and that the Army would not have the opportunity to attack them. That was the wrong signal. Second, the Slovenes and Croats got too much support, but too little assistance. Support for Croatia and Slovenia more than for Serbia, which could be recognized on German television, but not actual assistance.... I think that Europe thought for too long that what was happening in Yugoslavia in essence had no connection with Europe. And now it can be said that negative elements in Yugoslavia, as in 1914, are suddenly affecting all of Europe.

[Moderator] A mistake by Europe from the standpoint of Serbia?

[Smiljanic] I would first say that there are those 12 different interests in Europe, and because of those 12 different interests it cannot be expected that Mr. Genscher will receive support from the rest who have other interests, let's say England, Spain, and perhaps France, although France is balancing quite a bit....

Slovenia

Rupel on Peace Talks, Spain's Stand

AU1001161092 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1430 GMT 10 Jan 92

[Edo Zitnik report]

[Excerpt] One could conclude from everything that was said [at the news conference given by Slovene President Milan Kucan and Slovene Foreign Minister Dimitrij Rupel] today, that the most important element of yesterday's Brussels session was the acknowledgment of a new reality that will emerge on the territory of the former Yugoslavia on 15 January. Namely, even Lord Carrington realized that by recognizing at least one of the former Yugoslav republics, it will no longer be possible to talk about Yugoslavia as any sort of unity. It seems that, for this reason, he actually accepted the Slovene initiative, that is to say, the stance that the debate on Yugoslavia's legal succession be initiated. Lord Carrington approved of the formation of a commission that will draw the so-called final accounts connected with separation [delitvena bilanca]. As is known, at the same time, he rejected an attempt by Slobodan Milosevic to transfer the peace conference to the patronage of the UN.

Reporting on his talks with Spanish Foreign Minister Francisco Fernandez-Ordonez, Slovene Foreign Minister Rupel said that even Madrid—which was one of the most staunch defenders of a unified Yugoslavia—considerably changed its stance toward Slovenia. According to Rupel, Spanish recognition is no longer doubtful. Moreover, Fernandez-Ordonez might pay an official visit to Ljubljana this month. [passage omitted]

Croatia

Status of Truce in Crisis Regions Reported

LD1301120692 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1057 GMT 13 Jan 92

[Text] Zagreb, Beli Manastir, Sid, Dvor na Uni, January 13 (TANJUG)—Past night was peaceful in the crisis regions in the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia, and this situation continued, according to TANJUG reporters, on Monday morning too.

The incoming reports from the Territorial Defense of Baranja headquarters say this part of the theater of operations was quiet. After the attack on Sunday afternoon by the Croatian formations on the Baranja territorial units at the Drava River, when two defenders were killed and three wounded, and the response of the Territorial Defense which resulted in three attackers being killed, it was quiet in this area.

Croatian radio, which still falls under the Croatian president's decree on censorship, reported that the previous night passed in observance of the 15th ceasefire, except for a report from Osijek which said that in Slavonia "last night between 1700 and 2100 the positions of the Croatian forces were being fired on on several occasions in this city's suburban areas." The same source anounced that on this occasion one member of the Croatian forces was killed, and one wounded.

It was also quiet in Kordun and Banija during the night, as claimed by the information service of the Yugoslav Army operative group for this battlefield. This was also true as regards Monday morning, TANJUG reporter was told. The part of the battlefield between the rivers

Danube and Sava, as set out at the press center of the military command at Sid, passed [words indistinct] there was quiet in observance of the agreed-on Sarajevo cease-fire. [Words indistinct] also in the early morning hours in this area [words indistinct] the same sources claimed.

Serious Violation at Baranja

LD1201200392 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1817 GMT 12 Jan 92

[Text] Beli Manastir, 12 Jan (TANJUG)—This afternoon, fighters of the Croatian Armed Forces seriously violated the 15th cease-fire by launching an attack on members of the Baranja Territorial Defense, killing two and wounding three defenders.

At about 1530, the attackers opened unprovoked fire on a group of Territorial Defense members who were engaged in delivering food to their friends on the border line along the Drava River. Two defenders were killed, and three sustained injuries in this attack, the command of the Baranja Territorial Defense has reported.

The Baranja Territorial Defense headquarters added that fire was opened in return to this treacherous attack and that three attackers were killed in this counterattack.

The small infantry weapon duel lasted for an hour. The Baranja Territorial Defense members only managed to disperse the Croatian paramilitary formation when mortar bombs were fired.

250 kg Bomb Defused; 30,000 Mines Cleared

LD1201000192 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1908 GMT 11 Jan 92

[Text] Vukovar, Jan 11 (TANJUG)—After several days of preparations, a 250-kg bomb was successfully removed and defused in a complex and dangerous operation performed by eight officers of the Yugoslav People's Army [JNA] in the cellar of Vukovar's Dunav Hotel at the confluence of the Vuka and Danube Rivers. The bomb was pulled out through the same hole it had opened, but its already moved detonators gave under 20 percent chances the defusing operation would succeed.

Vukovar commander Lt Col Milorad Vojinovic explained that the bomb would have exploded had its inclination edged away by mere five degrees. This type bomb destroys everything within a 50-meter radius. Lt Col Vojinovic said there were many more undetected explosives in Vukovar although as many as 30,000 mines of all types have so far been cleared.

In the second half of last year, fierce fighting lasted more than three months between JNA units and secessionist Croatian troops in Vukovar, which, after liberation, showed the dreadful aftermath of a genocide perpetrated against Serbs.

Results on Army Mission Talks in Zagreb Viewed

LD1201205992 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 12 Jan 92

[Text] Representatives of the Yugoslav Army will have their permanent mission in Hotel I in Zagreb as of 14 January. This was stated in Pecs this evening by EC mission representative Joao Mina Gomes, after talks between Croatian Army representative Major General Imra Agotic, Yugoslav Army representative Colonel General Andrija Raseta, and head of the EC monitoring mission Joao Guerra Salgueiro, the Portugese ambassador. Gomes further said that a decision has not yet been reached on who will represent the Yugoslav Army in Zagreb.

General Agotic explained that an agreement has been reached that, in the first phase, Yugoslav Army representatives should spend six weeks in Zagreb, after which the chance of opening a similar mission of the Republic of Croatia in Belgrade will be examined.

The European mission decided to continue its activities in Croatia, Mina Gomes said. It has been decided that negotiations between representatives of warring sides and the European monitors at this level will be regularly held once a week on neutral territory. It has not yet been decided where they will be held, Gomes said, adding that the locations of forthcoming meetings will soon be known. General Agotic intimated that the next round of negotiations will be held in Pecs again.

JNA to Open Zagreb Mission

LD1201174892 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 12 Jan 92

[Excerpt] Croatia can be satisfied with yesterday's round of talks with the Yugoslav Army in Pecz. This was stated this morning by Major General Imra Agotic, a member of the main headquarters of the Croatian Army, who examined the observance of the cease-fire in Croatia with Yugoslav Army Colonel General Andrija Raseta, in the presence of EC monitors.

General Agotic is optimistic about the future observance of the cease-fire and, according to him, mutual trust between the negotiators is noticeably stronger. As an example of very specific agreements reached between the two sides, General Agotic mentioned that a mission of the Yugoslav Army will open in Zagreb, most probably on 14 January. The mission will be a kind of liaison center with the Croatian Government, with which every single cease-fire violation will be examined. Croatia will open a similar mission in Belgrade a little later. [passage omitted]

W. Slavonia Government Issues Defense Statement

LD1101165192 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0855 GMT 11 Jan 92

[Text] Banja Luka, 11 Jan (TANJUG)—The Serbian Autonomous Region [Srpska Autonomna Oblast, SAO] of Western Slavonia government calls on all combatants of this region's Territorial Defense to report to the Banja Luka Corps units as soon as possible to return home, a government statement says today.

The text states that the SAO of Western Slavonia government reached full agreement at a meeting with the Banja Luka Corps on the method and organization of the return of the Territorial Army combatants, as well as on all other issues concerning the rights and obligations of combatants, which will be dealt with, as it was stressed, "north of the Sava River."

The SAO Western Slavonia government fully supports committments to a peaceful resolution and the halt of military clashes and the efforts of the SFRY Presidency, the Yugoslav People's Army, and the Republic of Serbia to create the preconditions for the UN peacekeeping forces' arrival, the statement stresses.

The government opposes all the extremist individuals and groups jeopardizing the peace plan with their behavior and activities. We accept fully the basic principles of the agreement, and we consider certain unresolved issues to be technical details that will be resolved during the peacekeeping forces' deployment, the statement says.

Serb Refugees From W. Slavonia Settle in Ilok

LD1201055492 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2134 GMT 11 Jan 92

[Text] Ilok, Jan 11 (TANJUG)—Around 2,500 Serbs, refugees from the western Slavonia region in the secessionist Yugosiav Republic of Croatia, have settled in the town of Ilok on the Danube's right bank in eastern Slavonia, as was stated today by Borislav Bogunovic, vice-premier of the Serbian region of Slavonia, Baranja and West Srem. Bogunovic told reporters that re-settling in Ilok was completed today, after refugees moved into 650 deserted houses while 60 flats were given to physicians, educators, and other experts assigned with reviving local economic activities.

Ilok is a town within Croatia's administrative boundaries in the immediate vicinity of Vojvodina province which is part of the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia. Ilok was liberated by the Federal Army (JNA) on October 17 last year, when at least half its population, most of them Croats, decided to leave Ilok of their own free will.

Bogunovic said that the Serb settlers in Ilok, who escaped the Croatian secessionists' genocide, had stayed for some time in Backa Palanka, Vojvodina. He said that 4,000 refugees are expected to arrive in Baranja, while 10,000 to 12,000 more people could settle in eastern Slavonia and West Srem. The refugees had to leave their homes in western Slavonia and other parts of Croatia under pressure by Croatian authorities and their military formations.

'Community' of Serbian People Formed in Zagreb

LD1101065892 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1048 GMT 10 Jan 92

[Text] Zagreb, 10 Jan (TANJUG)—An initiative committee for the setting up of a community of the Serbian people in Croatia has been formed in Zagreb. The community, members of the initiative committee stress, ought to be a social organization that will gather together associations—social and political—of Serbs in Croatia. Preparations are under way for the founding assembly of the community of the Serbian people in Croatia, while in the public media a call has been put out to all associations of Serbs in Croatia to join in the convening and holding of this assembly.

Krajina Socialists Support UN Peace Plan

AU1101204892 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 11 Jan 92

[Text] The Socialist Party of Krajina, which is based in Knin, thinks that the conflict that has arisen should be resolved in a primarily peaceful way with the mediation of the United Nations, an organization that has hitherto shown itself to be unbiased.

We are aware of certain weaknesses in the proposed peace plan, the statement by this party says, but at the moment it represents a realistic basis for such a desired peaceful resolution of the conflict. In that sense, we support the decision of the SFRY Presidency and the efforts of the Republic of Serbia, having unlimited confidence in Serbia and its president. This is from a statement by the Socialist Party of Krajina in Knin.

Serbian Democratic Party Defends President Babic

AU1001165292 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 10 Jan 92

[Danko Peric report from Knin]

[Text] The news conference by Milan Babic, which was supposed to take place at noon today, has been postponed. As we have learned, Babic held a talk with a small group of journalists. According to what he said, the text of his reply to Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic will be presented tomorrow.

The presidium of the main committee of the Serbian Democratic Party of Krajina has issued a statement. It states, among other things, that calling for a putsch and overthrowing the legally elected president of the republic of the Serbian Krajina—that came into being through a struggle only because he has consistently represented the

interests of the Serbian Krajina and implemented the decisions of its government, assembly, and the Serbian people—not only belittles the institutions of the Republic of the Serbian Krajina, but is also a dangerous intention to cause a rift and fighting among the Serbian people.

The Serbian Democratic Party and all institutions of Krajina—including President Milan Babic—have decided in favor of the United Nations' involvement in the political settling of the crisis, as well as the deployment of the UN peacekeeping forces. We want peacekeeping forces to come and preserve the peace, but this should be done in the way that has usually been done in the world so far. They should be deployed between the warring sides. We do not want the Serbian people to be singled out as the culprit and to be disarmed, while the one who caused the war, Croatia, is being internationally recognized and allowed to retain an army. This statement was signed by Milan Ivanic, on behalf of the Presidium of the Serbian Democratic Party of Krajina.

On the Benkovac-Knin railroad line, near Pulic station, on the 44th kilometer of this line, an explosive device that had a timer attached to it destroyed about 2 meters of track. The Knin railroad department for maintaining the railroad has repaired the track. Freight and reduced passenger traffic have been reestablished. This is considerably less intensive than it was at the beginning of the war, that is to say, last spring when instances of sabotage were frequent. An investigation is under way.

According to the information of the (?Obrovac) Territorial Defense, the truce is mainly being observed in this area. Lika has been quiet for four or five days.

Zagreb Protests 'Enforced Use of Yugoslav Dinars'

LD1201063492 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 11 Jan 92

[Text] The Croatian Government has already reacted to the enforced use of Yugoslav dinars in Mokosica, near Dubrovnik. It has sent a letter to Colonel-General Blagoje Adzic and Admiral Stane Brovet that says:

At this morning's meeting with the managers of enterprises in Mokosica near Dubrovnik, Colonel Perovic of the Yugoslav Army ordered the use of Yugoslav dinars instead of Croatian dinars, which are the only legal means of payment in Croatia. This arbitary act is yet another provocative action that is placing an additional burden on and endangering the present efforts to normalize the situation and establish lasting peace.

As a result of this, the Croatian Government protests, in the sharpest terms, against the arrogant violation of agreements reached on the calming of tension and agreements on the establishment of a cease-fire achieved at local, country, and international levels, and it warns the Yugoslav Army Supreme Command that it deems the actions of Lieutenant-Colonel Perovic [as received] to be yet another attempt to provoke trouble intentionally and to be an attempt to cause fresh clashes and continue the aggression against the Republic of Croatia. This behavior is hampering the beginnings of the peace process and demonstrates the obvious intention of the Yugoslav Army to continue the aggression against the Republic of Croatia and prevent the arrival of UN peacekeeping forces. Hence, the Croatian Government will inform the head of the EC observer mission and the UN's special envoy about this violation of the internationally reached agreements, it says in the letter that is signed by Deputy Prime Minister Milan Ramljak.

Tudjman Decrees Promotions for Army Officers

LD1301083592 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 10 Jan 92

[Text] At a formal ceremony in Zagreb today, Croatian President Franjo Tudjman appointed five officers of the Armed Forces of the Republic of Croatia to higher ranks. By presidential decree, Janko Bobetko was promoted to the rank of corps-general [general zbora], and Duro Srnec was promoted to major-general [general-bojnik] as a reserve officer of the Croatian Armed Forces. Zvonimir Cervenko was promoted to the rank of brigadier [brigadir], Miso Munivrana to the rank of colonel [pukovnik], and Marko Lulic was promoted to the rank of major [bojnik].

By special decision of the president of the Republic, Corps General Janko Bobetko was appointed main advisor of the Ministry of Defense, for the combat use, training, and schooling of the Croatian Army Staff. By today's act, an old mistake of the former system, made at the expense of three present officers who had been removed from the Army and prosecuted because of their national and human honesty, was rectified, President Tudjman stressed, congratulating the promoted officers.

Separovic Expects Turkish Recognition 'Soon'

LD1001164692 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1527 GMT 10 Jan 92

[Text] Ankara, Jan 10 (TANJUG)—Foreign minister of the secessionist Yugoslav Republic of Croatia Zvonimir Separovic today said that "Turkey will soon make Croatia happy and recognize it."

After conferring with Turkish Prime Minister Suleyman Demirel in Ankara today, Separovic told journalists that the Turkish prime minister had told him that "there are no problems regarding the recognition of Croatia," but that Turkey "will not recognize Yugoslav republics individually but in a package."

Separovic, who arrived in Turkey last night for the "official recognition of Croatia," as he said, discussed the recognition of Croatia and possibilities for the opening of a Turkish consulate in the Croatian capital of Zagreb with Turkish Foreign Minister Hikmet Cetin today. The Yugoslav Republics of Slovenia, Croatia,

Macedonia and Bosnia-Hercegovina have requested to be recognized by the European Community as independent and sovereign states.

The Serbian people in Croatia and Bosnia-Hercegovina is against the breaking up of Yugoslavia and refuses to be separated from its mother state Yugoslavia. That is why Serbs have proclaimed their republics within the administrative borders of Croatia and Bosnia-Hercegovina on the territories where they constitute a majority, wishing those republics to remain a part of Yugoslavia as federal units.

Minister Vekic Discusses Paraga, Police Issues

92BA0248B Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 10 Dec 91 pp 17-19

[Interview with Ivan Vekic, head of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Croatia, by Jelena Lovric, place and date not given: "This Is Not a Police State"—first paragraph is DANAS introduction]

[Text] Since he took over the leadership of the Ministry of Internal Affairs [MUP] in Croatia, Ivan Vekic has introduced a new spirit into the operations of this institution. In a conversation for DANAS, Vekic speaks about the burning topics of Croatian policy and the police—fear of repression, the case of Paraga and Dedakovic, the purchase of weapons, the unacceptable behavior of the HOS's [members of the Croatian Defense Force] and the National Guard, the persecution of Serbs and the terrors of war

As if ending the interview, joking a little, I ask Ivan Vekic if he could be the Croatian Rankovic, he readily replies that he has thought about it and would know, he says, how that works. Is the key in the sentence that he soon quotes by the way, in a chat: Eternity will only shrug its shoulders at all that. What can be the consequences of the fact that the minister of police remembers the key sentence from one of the most moving books about suffering in a police state of the red type. It is a little unusual that the first policeman recites Poe or Rimbaud. But can it be dangerous if one thinks in that position how in the final analysis everything will be equalized, forgiven, the same. Like: "because all this, my dear, will be covered by snows, rosemary and sedge."

[Vekic] This fatalistic sentence surrounds the prison days of the legendary revolutionary Bukharin in Koestler's famous novel Darkness at Noon, which deals not so much with the factuality of persecution as with the mental conditions of those who were its objectives. After a good part of my life, I have the right to claim that this sentence concurs completely with my view of life. If someone begins to remember at the moment when world war raged in this country up to today, then nothing is left for him in that whole panopticum of terrible events than to state, like Koestler, that eternity will shrug its shoulders at all that. To be a fatalist in Croatia at this time—means perhaps to be realistic. Because to live today in Croatia means to be in a place that the world really can't even understand. This is nevertheless too small a people for so much history to have been poured on it. We simply can't absorb it. To know that eternity will only shrug its shoulders at the sea of blood that has been flowing since this people has been in these areas makes everything that is happening relative.

[Lovric] Could this relativization of everything make easier for you the movement in the direction of creating a police state, a society of repression, about which there has been a lot of concern lately in the political public of Croatia?

[Vekic] I don't remember those times, but they say that it was the custom at one time to hang out a flag on the jail when there were no more prisoners in it. I hope that democracy in Croatia will one day get to white flags on the jails. Until that is achieved, there is no doubt that police power and armed force and repression are inevitable as a means of consolidating a democratic government. We often forget that Croatia is at war, a total and merciless war. And when a war is involved, one should not lose sight of the fact that war evil is not only on the front lines, not only where the enemy is evident. War unavoidably creates a breakdown of the internal order in a country as well.

[Lovric] The police are now a focus of public interest because of their reports in connection with the Croatian Party of Rights, as well as with the arrests of Paraga and Dedakovic and some other repressive acts?

[Vekic] The police do not intervene in anyone's political plan until attempts are made to carry it out in a way that involves violence. At that moment every such man, all such people, all such political parties inevitably enter a zone of responsibility. If all the actions of citizen Dobroslav Paraga were restricted to arrogant political statements, to some proclamations of aims that he would like to achieve, that would not be interesting to the police. In order not to give space to rumors, which sprout most often in the absence of real information, we inform the public of some relevant facts from time to time. That's what we did in the case of Paraga's arrest, when we reported that he had exceeded the bounds of boastful political statements. I'm issuing a warning about the fact that this gentleman is dealing in public with information that is completely false. We established through police channels that the Croatian Party of Rights had 1,194 members on the 17th of last month. There are probably even fewer fighters. But before that the party announced that there were 20,000, even 30,000 men under arms. In the report of the state commission for Vukovar you will find the information that this gentleman gave an interview to DUGA of Belgrade in September. I won't interpret how it is that the leader of a party is a guest on a newspaper that is in the enemy country, not only geographically but according to its political indicators, since without a doubt it is justifying the aggression against Croatia. Something else is interesting: why does DUGA show interest in Mr. Dobroslav Paraga, who says in this interview—I'm repeating it—how he will now,

that he has an armed force, clean up the halls of government, his attack will be, he says, totally destructive. And now someone asks why Mr. Paraga is deprived of his freedom. If he stopped only with that arrogant sentence, and if he indeed did not try to destroy president Tudjman—it's nothing to anyone. That would be his thing, since all parties, after all, want to destroy the existing authority. But when it is said clearly and when an armed force is assembled with that aim—then we must act. Since some leaders of opposition parties are now howling hypocritically about the fate of Mr. Paraga, I must say I don't know a single opposition party that, if it were in power, would react differently. I would even hold that most of them would react much more negatively. To conclude: there is no police violence and no political trial. But to everything that is sanctioned by a criminal legal code—the reaction of the authorities will be the same. Mr. Paraga was in America at one time, while he begged about human rights, so he would have to know that the Democratic Party there could create its armed forces, especially if American was at war? Why then such a dilemma about a thing, which is for me, to the extent it concerns the police, completely clear? I won't fall into the error—even though it is only of a formal nature—of claiming that Paraga is guilty in such a way that it could be interpreted as a premature judgement or pressure on the court. You're asking me—I'm answering. That's the way it was with president Tudjman too. If they hadn't asked him—he would probably not have mentioned him. Should the president have said that Paraga is innocent? Or that he doesn't know about that situation? Or that he doesn't know about that action?

[Lovric] Are we leaving aside the part about self-praising statements when, therefore, the formation of some armed detachments remains?

[Vekic] With the aim of destroying a democratically elected government. But if that happens in war then—nota bene—the aim is not just the destruction of a democratically elected government. The aim is the destruction of Croatia. When the country is at war, and this demands the absolute solidarity of all citizens and the carrying of the war burden equally on everyone's shoulders—every attack on authority is an attack on the most fundamental interests of the people. We need only armed clashes between some party formations and the regular Croatian army for our enemy to achieve, with our help, what he had aimed for.

[Lovric] What do you consider an attack on authority?

[Vekic] The formation of armed detachments whose aim is the destruction of the democratically elected government.

[Lovric] Isn't it unfortunate when one hears, like sometimes in the Assembly, how criticism of authority is almost an attempt at its destruction, and this from people who otherwise fought with all their strength under the previous system against verbal offense?

[Vekic] Verbal offense is not the point. They didn't stop just at criticism. So, I ask you, if anyone is criticizing the democratically elected government the way the Croatian National Party does, which uses every opportunity to attack each sequence of authority. And it's nothing to anyone. We wouldn't even think of bringing to justice in some way or bringing to trial such behavior of the leaders of the HNS [Croatian National Party]. Because they didn't enter the criminal zone. That is still within the broad framework of political battle. I must mention another trick. Mr. Paraga has not gained ownership of the teaching of Ante Starcevic by hereditary right. It is the inheritance of us all. It seems to me that he has interited this teaching the least because of his actions. As if the high trait of humanity in Starcevic's work and his personal life is unknown to him.

[Lovric] But didn't he strengthen the HOS [Croatian Defense Force] by not organizing legal Croatian armed formations?

[Vekic] As to several hundred so-called HOS people, we heard that they went to the Starcevic building, because they were put on the waiting list when they joined the Guard. There they also had to join the party, although that was perhaps not their intention. Therefore, owing to that slowness, which again has its explanation, because we were not able to organize the framework of the Croatian army quickly, you know what times we lived in, we were not able to accept a number of people who wanted to participate in the defense of Croatia.

[Lovric] Why were these anomalies not disclosed in time while they were originating?

[Vekic] It can't be done hastily. The police must first register the situation, how dangerous some phenomenon is. When it became clear to us that there was no other way, we deprived the leader of the party of his freedom. I expressly ordered that all activities of the police in relation to individuals of the so-called HOS proceed without without a drop of blood. I must emphasize that it is to our credit that there has not been an armed clash up to now. I will tell you—although it represents a certain police secret—that people from the MUP held a series of talks with them, attempting to direct their attention to stop such activities and we always got the same promises: we will disband our forces, we will turn them over to the Corps, we will not have any kind of our own center, any kind of military hierarchy. They probably considered that it was very clever to agree to all conditions and continue with their actions, thinking that they would fool us that way. Since the police can be anything but are never gullible, we concluded, in following their activities further, that they wouldn't think of deviating from that which they had planned, and that is the destruction of the government. Just one detail. When Mr. Paraga was arrested, his people said they would free him in one hour. In what country is someone who is detained removed forcibly from jail? Where is that attack on the prison, the court, institutions, the halls of Government announced? We must again say, let no

one think of trying to do something with armed force, because we will be forced to resolve this in the only possible way, and that is by smashing the armed force.

[Lovric] It says in your report that HOS members are fighting in the taverns, although news is coming from the field that they are good, even disciplined fighters?

[Vekic] Yes, those who are good fighters, and those who are in the taverns are fighting in the bars.

[Lovric] Everybody's fighting in taverns in Zagreb?

[Vekic] Let's understand each other: a number of negative characteristics, which are mentioned as adjectives with the HOS, refer to others. Even members of the reserve organization of MUP have participated in a number of punishable acts. The fact is that we have been able to act toward members of the National Guard and the reserve component—there have been very few such punishable acts in the active component—in a legal manner, because they are grouped in an organization in which subordination and a hierarchy exist.

[Lovric] The number of incidents in Zagreb, most often with fighters in bars, is increasing. How is it that you can't restrain them?

[Vekic] I wouldn't say that the number of such cases is increasing. I must say that their number is decreasing, but the number of those disclosed is increasing. Now that the Croatian army has been formed and organized, the police are beginning to return to their work. The reserve element of the police, except for a certain number of personnel whose number is not important for the public, has been assigned, with weapons and equipment, to the Croatian army. The active part of the police are withdrawing from the battlefield to work on internal order and peace. Up until recently, the Croatian police have been completely at war. Now we have the opportunity to disclose more incidents. We had come under the limit of 50 percent of acts disclosed; this is unacceptably small. Now we are climbing a little bit above 50 percent; this is equal to world averages under war conditions. Police repression has not increased, nor has this become a police state, we are simply uncovering more perpetrators.

[Lovric] Is the information correct that Paraga was arrested more or less under an agreement with international powers? And was that after Mr. Tudjman was allegedly shown a film in The Hague about the massacre committed, again allegedly, by the HOS people?

[Vekic] I don't know about a film shown to the president in The Hague. I only heard the same thing, that there was something. As someone who works in this position, I would first doubt the authenticity of the film. It would also be premature to claim from my position that HOS members committed a massacre anywhere. It is sufficient for the whole world to remember the famous case of Gleiwitz when Hitler, seeking a motive for an attack on Poland, dressed his men in Polish clothing. Until I have verified documents, until it is established that nothing was rigged, until participants are identified, I wouldn't think of claiming that the HOS people committed a massacre. We haven't come out with information about that terrible massacre in Dalj, because we can't yet verify information. One can't go public with unverified documents. In agreements with the Army, the federal SUP [Secretariat for Internal Affairs], and the MUP of Serbia, we have requested that the exhumation and verification of those killed in Vukovar be permitted.

[Lovric] The arrest of Paraga is connected with the jailing of Dedakovic?

[Vekic] As nearly as I can tell you, there are points of contact in that each of them had his role in the matter. But Paraga, in contrast to Dedakovic, is under the jurisdiction of a civil court. When these two procedures are completed before courts designated for this, it will be shown whether this symbiosis really existed and what its nature was. It would also be premature to speak about information that the state has. Be assured that we have had sufficient reasons for what is called a basic doubt, and that is sufficient for holding a trial. I won't say firm proof, no matter how firm it seemed to me.

[Lovric] How do you explain that Dedakovic was first spoken about as a fugitive from the battlefield, then as a member of the KOS (Counterintelligence Service), that he's now turned out to be a thief?

[Vekic] I wouldn't comment on someone's clumsiness in this matter.

[Lovric] In what manner has the flow of money for procuring weapons been followed? How could it happen that its trace is lost in some cases? Who controlled it?

[Vekic] We must start with the fact that Croatia found itself without weapons in a war. And not a single legal means existed to obtain them, especially in a short time. The right to one's own defense is one of the basic human rights. When the legal instruments of the state and its power to defend individuals or groups do not exist—they will defend themselves. We adjusted in various ways. Although I don't know much about it—because there is no department in the MUP that would be engaged in the illegal procurement of weapons—there's no indication that those funds were misused. That there were many of these funds is a fact, but it is also a fact that many weapons were obtained. But because of the embargo, it was not always possible for that amount of money to obtain a satisfactory quantity of weapons for the simple reason that it was necessary to smuggle. When it was not possible to obtain weapons by legal means and when you must depend on some ships that roam the sea and seek buyers—naturally you're subject to risk. Whether there were certain false estimates and errors in the chain of those events—I can't tell you, because I simply don't know. But that must be regarded as a consequence of the situation in which we found ourselves. If you bring weapons in secretly from somewhere, you must transport them through some areas and that can't always be

successful. Thus I can't speak about the guilt of some person who, for a certain amount of money, did not obtain exactly the expected quantity of weapons, everything is paid for, daily wages for danger, foreign services, everything.

[Lovric] If this is so, why is a trial for Dedakovic beginning then, and the myth that grew together with Vukovar is being destroyed. And in some other cases, which have even been mentioned in the Assembly, like Mr. Cermak, for example, the dust is settled before it rose?

[Vekic] An assembly representative addressed him. If he has the facts that speak about anyone's possible guilt, there is no reason why he shouldn't be brought to trial. No one is a priori protected. I do not want to elaborate on the Dedakovic case for the simple reason that it isn't under MUP jurisdiction, so I wouldn't say anything about something for which I am neither qualified nor authorized.

[Lovric] But you could speak as a man who is at the top of the Croatian government. And who in the end was also a member of the Manolic commission. Could you comment from that position on the claim that some others are being attacked through Dedakovic, more people on the General Staff?

[Vekic] Not even the General Staff is subject to MUP's interference. There are security organs within the Croatian army that are concerning themselves with this. I can only tell you that at this moment I do not accept any political qualification in the Dedakovic case.

[Lovric] How would you comment on the belief that the Dedakovic case could become the Croatian Dreyfus?

[Vekic] Innocence as such has never been a guarantee that someone would not have to be responsible for something. But there are no basic elements for this comparison, because, as far as I remember, there are some components that do not permit a comparison: anti-Semiticism, court games, intrigues, private life is involved there, there a judgement is finally made with something with which a judgement is not made now, and that is the freedom of thought. Here everything is already based on firm and rigid facts. As far as I'm concerned, Dedakovic could have had these or those ideas, but here the question is the realization of ideas. For that he is being judged. What weight this proof has—I wouldn't get into that.

[Lovric] How do you look at the fact, perhaps as a former lawyer, that a man who spent 3 months at the front, in Vukovar, has now been badly beaten up in jail?

[Vekic] I am familiar with that as a member of the government, because Mr. Budisa cited that information. I don't know whether that finding has been medically verified and I especially don't know the circumstances under which that occurred. I don't disassociate myself from future proceedings with people from the MUP, but you will agree that situations exist where force is applied. I don't want to get into an assessment of whether that was such a situation. I must tell you that this happens in practice. And what? I don't see that just that would demand the special attention of the public.

[Lovric] But you quite certainly have cases under investigation involving the overnight disappearance not only of individuals but also of whole groups, such as, for example, in Gospic. And in the Assembly it is said that Serbs, even in Zagreb, even reputable citizens, no longer sleep in their own houses?

[Vekic] The police have devoted a lot of effort to eliminating such possibilities. But without excusing anyone, I must again remind you that the country is at war. The war does not evolve only on the line of the first combat operations, but, unfortunately, in the rear as well. Serbian extremism has developed in Serbian areas. It is very difficult to control the behavior of individuals who reach a stage of destructive bitterness. The terrible explosive of hatred blinds a man, does not allow him for a certain time to censor a single one of his actions. For such types the Serbs in Croatia are one of the causes of what is happening and also one of the instigators of some future clashes. They think that this should be resolved in a manner that seems to them the only one possible in that terrible bitterness. But, let's return to the essence of the problem. I hope that many of those people of Serbian nationality who have disappeared are alive. Because the fact is that people have known how to find themselves in very difficult situations who have not made any mistakes about anything. I can tell you that quite a number of people, suspected of such acts, have already been tried, have already had criminal charges brought against them, further action is the concern of the court, its effectiveness, speed and rendering of decisions that must be in accordance with the crime committed.

[Lovric] People from Gospic, seeking assistance, have come into our editorial offices. They talk about mass disappearances of a monstrous scope?

[Vekic] People have also been taken away there by force. I must say that no order from the government exists, not a single one of its sectors, no tacit approval for that to be done. Therefore, the government has no connection with this. But police action is being undertaken precisely in connection with Gospic that will clarify the situation and bring the guilty parties before the law. I have already said that we cannot proceed with unverified information in a single case. At the moment when we learn all relevant information—be sure that we will inform the public. But if what is being said is really true—the perpetrators of these misdeeds will be brought before the court equally. The fact is that something happened there, and the fact is also that the police do not have sufficient information at the moment to inform the public. But I believe that readers, when they read this interview, will already know the outcome of the police actions that I have ordered in this context.

[Lovric] What is the truth about Mr. Mercep? According to some information, Gospic is connected with his name. People who know him say he is a Croatian Arkan?

[Vekic] Mr. Mercep is an adviser of this ministry. That position falls under the direct control of the minister and he performs concrete functions at the direction of the minister. He has been in several heavy battles, he was wounded near Okucani. As to the tasks that he performs in the name of the ministry—he does them well. If it is said somewhere that Mr. Mercep did something before and outside of his function in the MUP, I can leave it to justice and his conscience. From here, we have no information that he would be involved in anything culpable. He is a man of some mental unrest, not inclined to life's patterns and he doesn't leave anyone indifferent. Mercep is, to put it mildly, an interesting man.

The conversation lasts a long time. But not about off-color police stories. They do not enter into the assigned framework of conspiracy. Vekic will nevertheless close the circle in the end. Shrug his shoulders. Because, he repeats, eternity will only do that too.

Serbia

Jovic on New Republic in Bosnia-Hercegovina

LD1001224392 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2043 GMT 10 Jan 92

[Text] Titograd, Jan 10 (TANJUG)—The foundation of the Serbian Republic in Bosnia-Hercegovina is the "Serbian people's tumultous reaction to a [words indistinct] Bosnia-Hercegovina's rump leadership that the European Community recognize Bosnia-Hercegovina's independence without the consent of the Serbian people," as Yugoslav Presidency member from the Republic of Serbia Borisav Jovic has said.

Jovic made the statement in the Republic of Montenegro's capital Titograd, at a joint news conference with Momir Bulatovic, the Montenegrin president and leader of the republic's ruling Democratic Party of Socialists. Serbia wants Bosnia-Hercegovina to "remain in Yugoslavia as a whole... And this is also the wish of the Serbian people" in Bosnia-Hercegovina, as Jovic set out.

Serbs in Bosnia-Hercegovina yesterday proclaimed their republic because the Moslem and Croat representatives in the republican Presidency and government applied to the EC for the recognition of Bosnia-Hercegovina as an autonomous independent state, without the consent of the Serbian representatives.

Under the republican constitution, decisions of vital importance for the republic's future can be taken only by a consensus of Bosnia-Hercegovina's three constituent peoples—Moslems (43.77 percent), Serbs (31.46 percent) and Croats (17.34 percent).

Jovic and Bulatovic described as undemocratic a law, promulgated in the Republic of Serbian Krajina, which bans the organization and operation of Communist parties on the Krajina territory. The Republic of Serbian Krajina was formed on December 19, 1991 on the Serbian territories within the administrative borders of the secessionist Republic of Croatia.

Serbian Renaissance Movement Leader Charged

LD1201111892 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1840 GMT 9 Jan 92

[Text] Belgrade, 9 Jan (TANJUG)—The No. 1 Municipal Public Prosecutor's Office in Belgrade recently filed charges against Vuk Draskovic, president of the Serbian Renaissance Movement (SPO), for organizing demonstrations on 9 March. The charges were conveyed yesterday to Draskovic's lawyer Strahinja Kastratovic.

According to the lawyer, Draskovic is charged "with causing the death of two people, serious injury to six people, minor injuries to 23 people, as well as damage totalling 15,500,000 dinars." For these offenses, the SPO president can be jailed for 15 years.

"The charges were preceded by a brief interrogation of Mr. Draskovic in April, and hitherto we have not in any way participated in the investigation, nor have we been invited to do so," Strahinja Kastratovic told TANJUG.

Kosovo

Albanian Parties Accept Dialogue With Serbs

LDi001230192 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1880 GMT 10 Jan 92

[Text] Albanian political parties have accepted an offer to start a dialogue with Serbian opposition parties, because they think it is better to have talks before a conflict than after it has taken place. This was stated by the chairman of the Parliamentary Party of Kosovo [Parlamentarna partija Kosova], Veton Surroi, upon his return from Belgrade.

He added that the situation was conflict-ridden throughout Yugoslavia. Threats have been issued to Macedonia and Bosnia, while in Kosovo we have lived under occupation for 10 years. Surroi further stressed that the Serbian minority in Kosovo, like in Croatia, was completely abused by Milosevic for the realization of his aims at occupation and conquest. He fully mystified [mistificirati] the Serbs from Kosovo and Croatia and we should, during talks with the Serbian opposition parties, try to find ways to a just resolution of the Kosovo problem, which only results from Milosevic's greater-Serbian and war-mongering policy.

Bosnia-Hercegovina

Izetbegovic Proposes Group of Independent States

LD1201134292 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1243 GMT 12 Jan 92

[Text] Sarajevo, 12 Jan (TANJUG)—Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency, has proposed a Yugoslav association of six independent republics or states. The proposal was made during the "Authority and Opposition" roundtable discussion in Sarajevo today.

This association, according to Alija Izetbegovic, would have neither passports nor customs borders. All the states would have their own currency, which in the second stage would enjoy equal treatement but in the third stage would be marked by the creation of a single currency. In Izetbegovic's view, the states in the association would each have their own army but with joint command over some specific services.

In reference to Bosnia-Hercegovina, Izetbegovic proposed that the republic's population be invited to take part in a referendum to decide on its independence. The outcome of the referendum would be broken down according to how individual nations voted.

Due to fog, many of those ivited to attend the roundtable failed to turn up in Sarajevo. Those attending included Vuk Draskovic, president of the Serbian Renewal Movement, as well as representatives of Albanians from Kosovo.

Izetbegovic Comments on War, Dangers for Bosnia

AU1301131692 Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 13 Jan 92 p 124

[Interview with Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic by unidentified correspondent; place and date not given: "Simply Exhausted"]

[Text] [DER SPIEGEL] Bosnia-Hercegovina wants to be recognized as an independent state on 15 January. In that case, Radovan Karadzic, leader of the Bosnian Serbs, threatened with armed resistance. Will the war now also spread to your republic?

[Izetbegovic] The danger exists. Nevertheless, I do not believe that Karadzic will risk an armed conflict. A civil war in Bosnia would be a total war without winners. Serbian President Milosevic is also aware of this.

[DER SPIEGEL] Is there a danger that Milosevic and Croatian President Tudjman will agree on Bosnia's division behind your back?

[Izetbegovic] They have tried this, so far without success. Of course, both have enormous ambitions to appropriate foreign territories. However, the division of Bosnia would not be in Croatia's interest. The old borders must be reestablished. Therefore, it has been a completely superfluous, useless war.

[DER SPIEGEL] The people in your republic are heavily armed. Where do these arms come from?

[Izetbegovic] The Serbian people are armed by the Army. The rest have been armed by fear. Today it is no problem to buy weapons in Bosnia. This is a terrible situation, but it is the logical result of the disintegration of the state.

[DER SPIEGEL] Why do you want to continue under these circumstances without the deployment of UN blue helmets in Bosnia-Hercegovina?

[Izetbegovic] Even during the latest talks with UN representative Cyrus Vance I insisted on the dispatch of peace troops to Bosnia. However, for the time being the United Nations only wants to employ troops where they are most urgently needed, that is, in the Croatian battle areas. It is at least planned to send observers to Bosnia.

[DER SPIEGEL] Is this sufficient?

[Izetbegovic] It would be better if the UN troops were already here. If the United Nations hesitates for a long time, the fighting in Croatia will again flare up. We are seriously pressed for time. After all, we had 14 unsuccessful armistices.

[DER SPIEGEL] Why has the 15th armistice lasted so far? Are the Army and the Serbs finished, or have they reached their objectives?

[Izetbegovic] I think they are simply exhausted.

[DER SPIEGEL] Has Milosevic thus given up his plan of a greater Serbian empire?

[Izetbegovic] He has certainly cut down his territorial ambitions. It seems to me that he cannot bring Slavonia into his planned Serbian empire. Vukovar and Baranja will have to be given back to Croatia.

[DER SPIEGEL] In contrast to Croatia, you still seem to be looking for a compromise that might mitigate Yugoslavia's disintegration.

[Izetbegovic] I am thinking of a community of independent states according to the example of the former Soviet republics—with a common market, without customs barriers, but, at least at the beginning, with separate currencies. Such a community could also work without Slovenia and Croatia.

[DER SPIEGEL] What will be your reaction if the EC rejects Bosnia's recognition?

[Izetbegovic] Our sovereignty can at best be postponed. History cannot move backward. The Yugoslav civil war

is the result of a vacuum that was created when communism perished. Unfortunately, we did not find an answer to the emerging questions and problems, apart from violence.

Republic of Serbs Declared 'Unconstitutional'

LD1001175292 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1635 GMT 10 Jan 92

[Text] Sarajevo, 10 Jan (TANJUG)—The Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency today decided by a majority vote that the proclamation of the Republic of the Serbian People of Bosnia-Hercegovina is "an unconstitutional act which, as such, does not produce any legal consequences."

A statement from the session, presided over by Alija Izetbegovic, stresses that all bodies and citizens are called on to observe the Bosnia-Hercegovina Constitution and laws, while the government is called on to draw up and implement necessary measures to protect legitimate interests of Bosnia-Hercegovina and its citizens. The Presidency calls on all relevant political factors to continue and intensify talks aimed at finding a peaceful resolution to the present situation.

Government Calls For Multiparty Talks

AU1001201292 Sarajevo Radio Sarajevo Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 10 Jan 92

[Text] The Bosnia-Hercegovina Government session today discussed the decisions of the deputies of the Serbian Democratic Party and the Serbian Renewal Movement made in the Bosnia-Hercegovina Assembly in Sarajevo on 9 January 1992, and adopted the following conclusions:

The aforementioned decisions represent a political act that may have unforeseeable adverse effect on the unity of Bosnia-Hercegovina. The government proposes that the Bosnia-Hercegovina Assembly urgently discuss this issue at a joint session. The government demands the continuation of dialogue among the political parties, which would remove causes of political misunderstandings and put an end to further deterioration of the economic, political, social, and security situation in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Muslim Party Condemns Formation

AU1001201892 Sarajevo Radio Sarajevo Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 10 Jan 92

[Text] The Bosnia-Hercegovina Party of Democratic Action today reacted to the proclamation of the Republic of the Serbian People of Bosnia-Hercegovina. A communique issued by the party's Executive Council states:

Yesterday's declaration proclaiming the Republic of the Serbian People of Bosnia-Hercegovina, adopted by the so-called Assembly of the Serbian People, is yet another step in the attempts by some forces within the Serbian Democratic Party to serve the programs and forces outside Bosnia-Hercegovina that want to destroy this republic as a common state of Muslims, Serbs, and Croats. This attempt will not succeed, the Party of Democratic Action points out, because it represents an open threat to peace and because it is in contradiction with the essential interests of not only Muslims and Croats, but also Serbs as equal citizens of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

The Party of Democratic Action's message with regard to this is: We will respond to the open war declared in this way in Bosnia-Hercegovina by Radovan Karadzic and his company with prudence and dignity, but will not bow our heads. At the end of this communique, the Party of Democratic Action appeals to all citizens to defend peace and the common state of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Social Democrats Term Act 'Illegal'

AU1001202292 Sarajevo Radio Sarajevo Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 10 Jan 92

[Text] The Socialist Democratic Party of Bosnia-Hercegovina today issued a communique in which it states that the decision of the so-called Assembly of the Serbian People on the proclamation of its republic is an illegal, unconstitutional, and unilateral act with disastrous consequences for security, peace, and living together. The Socialist Democratic Party Presidium therefore demands that the Bosnia-Hercegovina Assembly hold a urgent session and that deputies adopt stands on this politically ill-conceived act and raise the question of replacing Momcilo Krajisnik, president of the [Bosnia-Hercegovina] Assembly.

'Text' of Declaration of Republic of Serbs

LD1101134692 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1030 GMT 11 Jan 92

[Text] Sarajevo, 11 Jan (TANJUG)—The Assembly of the Serbian people in Bosnia-Hercegovina at its session on 9 January, as it is known, adopted a declaration on the proclamation of the Republic of the Serbian People of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

This is the authentic text of the declaration:

1.

In the Serbian autonomous regions and areas and other Serbian ethnic entities in Bosnia-Hercegovina, including those areas where World War II genocide reduced the Serbian people to a minority, and on the basis of a plebiscite held on 9 and 10 November 1991, at which the Serbian people expressed their will to remain in the common state of Yugoslavia, the Republic of the Serbian People of Bosnia-Hercegovina is hereby founded and proclaimed.

2.

The republic is a part of the Federal State of Yugoslavia as its federal unit.

3.

The territorial demarcation with political communities of other nations of Bosnia-Hercegovina, including the settlement of mutual rights and duties, will be implemented in a peaceful way and through geographic, communication, and other important criteria and respecting principles and regulations of international law.

4.

The social, political, and state system of the republic will be regulated by its constitution.

5.

The constitution of the republic will guarantee all nations and citizens full equality under the law and protection against any kind of discrimination.

6.

Until bodies and institutions of the republic, which will be established in the constitution, have been elected and constituted, functions of state bodies in the republic will be discharged by the present assembly of Serbian people in Bosnia-Hercegovina and the council of ministers.

7.

The seat of the republic is in Sarajevo.

8.

Until a constitution, laws, and other regulations of the republic have been adopted, federal laws will be used in its territory as well as regulations of the former Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, except for those that the Assembly of the Serbian People find not to be in accordance with the federal Constitution.

9.

Former Bosnia-Hercegovina bodies will represent joint bodies of national communities in the transition period until territorial issues and other rights and obligations have been settled. In the transition period the joint bodies can adopt necessary decisions and acts by consensus.

10.

This declaration comes to force on 9 January and will be applied from the day of its adoption.

11.

The declaration will be published in the official gazette of the Serbian people of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

[Signed] Momcilo Krajisnik, president of the assembly of the Serbian people in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Bosnia Krajina Government Falls; Assembly Meets

LD1101163292 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 11 Jan 92

[Text] The government of the so-called autonomous region of Bosanska Krajina, which was headed by Andjelko Grahovac, has fallen following the latest conflict within the Serbian Democratic Party of Bosnia-Hercegovina. A session of the assembly of the so-called autonomous region continues, but it is closed to journalists. A new prime minister will be elected and (?disagreements resolved) at the session. The former leadership has been accused of arbitrarily founding paramilitary organizations (?in league with) private enterprises. Some government members are linking this to the release from prison of criminals who stole from Croatian villages after fighting.

Assembly Says Republic Nonexistent

AU1101212692 Sarajevo Radio Sarajevo Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 11 Jan 92

[Text] Bosnia-Hercegovina no longer exists, and this [word indistinct] no longer has anything to be based on. The Assembly of the Serbian people of Bosnia-Hercegovina is the supreme authority of the Serbian people in Bosnia-Hercegovina and in the autonomous regions the existing executive councils and secretariats have the supreme authority. This was said at today's closed session of the Bosnian Krajina Autonomous Region Assembly in Banja Luka.

This session also discussed the decision by the communal Assembly of Banja Luka concerning a halt to republican taxes. It was stated that all flows of money toward the republic will be temporarily stopped.

Quite a lot of criticism was also leveled at this session against statements by Radovan Karadzic [president of the Serbian Democratic Party of Bosnia-Hercegovina] on regions. It was said that regionalization is an (?international) process and this assembly will continue to affirm regionalization. To this end a special group of experts has been set up which will work on (?these) tasks.

Serbian Democratic Party Supports UN Peace Plan

LD1201185892 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1739 GMT 12 Jan 92

[Text] Belgrade, Jan 12 (TANJUG)—Leader of the Serbian Democratic Party (SDS) of Bosnia-Hercegovina Radovan Karadzic, in his interview carried in today's POLITIKA paper, backs up the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia's "sincere support to Cyrus Vance" and the UN peace plan to resolve Yugoslavia's crisis and move in "blue helmets."

"A depthwise deployment of (UN) troops is a compromise and we should accept this compromise and enable normal life in Serbian lands," stresses Karadzic. He says his party maintains that it will be better to place UN troops in between the warring sides in the secessionist Yugoslav Republic of Croatia, but the troops shall certainly not be placed, as Croatia has sought, along the current administrative boundaries.

"The United Nations shall institute the sovereignty of Serbian people in their territories in Croatia," Karadzic stresses and adds that clearly enough if Croatian paramilitary formations happen to be sited along the borders of Krajina, then well-equipped and strong JNA (Yugoslav People's Army) formations will have to be posted on the other side.

According to Karadzic, the best solution will be the UN guarantees that it will not withdraw its troops from the Serbian Krajinas either until the optimum political solution is found, or until the possibly changed situation in the meantime is recovered to that the UN troops will have found upon arrival in Croatia.

Karadzic emphasizes that as regards Serbian people, there will be no war in Bosnia-Hercegovina. He adds that Serbs do not intend to attack any one or impose upon any one their religion or their ways of living, but, the Serbs in Bosnia-Hercegovina, being a sovereign nation, are entitled to defining their own fate. "In Bosnia-Hercegovina, we have opened a process of democratic transformation into a triune community, into a republic of three nations, that is, three national republics," says Karadzic concerning the recent proclamation of the Republic of Serbian People of Bosnia-Hercegovina. Living in multi-national and multi-confessional Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina are Muslims (43.77 per cent), Serbs (31.46 per cent) and Croats (17.34 per cent).

Karadzic says that Serbs in Bosnia-Hercegovina hurried to proclaim their republic on January 9 "because of the announced likelihood that the European Community would declare independence of Bosnia-Hercegovina already on January 10." He adds that every political action by the Serbs after this recognition would have had much smaller practical effects and the Serbs in Bosnia-Hercegovina would have found themselves in a very difficult situation."

Karadzic says that the reactions in the Republic of Serbia to the formation of the Republic of Serbian People of Bosnia-Hercegovina have been favourable. Karadzic opposes any "rushed linkages" of Serbian people in the territory of current Yugoslavia, arguing that such a linkage of one part of the Serbian nation "could bring harm to another part of the same nation." According to Karadzic, the linking of the two Krajinas (Knin Krajina, Bosnia Krajina) would weaken the position of the Serbs in central and eastern Bosnia, and in eastern Hercegovina.

As for President of Serbia Slobodan Milosevic's letter to leader of Serbs in Krajina Milan Babic, Karadzic says that he does not believe that Milosevic's letter is a call for cadre changes in Krajina. In this letter, Milosevic accuses Babic of favouring a continuing war by rejecting Cyrus Vance's plan on the arrival of a UN peace-keeping force.

Serbian Democratic Party Warns of Civil War

LD1101235592 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1751 GMT 11 Jan 92

[Text] Sarajevo, Jan 11 (TANJUG)—Leader of the Serbian Democratic Party (SDS) of Bosnia-Hercegovina Radovan Karadzic today warned of the possibility of the outbreak of a civil war in that multi-national Yugoslav republic. A party statement released today and signed by Karadzic said that the SDS had come by irrefutable information that illegal activities were carried out with a view to inciting student and worker unrest, that reserve militiamen were being mobilized without authorization, and special units, linked to security centres, formed illegally.

The SDS statement said that the above activities were aimed at inciting civil unrest to enable unobserved arrest and isolation of legitimate representatives of the Serbian people in Bosnia-Hercegovina and to prevent the republic's democratic transformation.

The statement of the Party of Serbs living in Bosnia-Hercegovina warned that the above dangerous activities could be an introduction to a civil war and chaos. Bosnia-Hercegovina is populated by Muslims (43.77 percent), Serbs (31.46 percent), and Croats (17.34 percent).

The Serbs in Bosnia-Hercegovina proclaimed the Republic of the Serbian People of Bosnia-Hercegovina on January 9 this year. The move of the Serbs followed the adoption of a declaration of the sovereignty of Bosnia-Hercegovina by the Muslim and Croat members of the republican parliament, in the absence of the Serbian representatives, late last year, and the subsequent request for the recognition of Bosnia-Hercegovina as an independent state by the European Community.

The request is illegitimate since the Bosnia-Hercegovina Constitution specifes that all decisions vital for the Republic's future must be passed by the consensus of the three constituent peoples—Serbs, Croats and Muslims.

Bosnian Croats Reportedly Forming Armed Units

LD1201150992 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1329 GMT 12 Jan 92

[Text] Sarajevo, Jan 12 (TANJUG)—About 1,500 armed Croats in the communes of Bosanski Brod and Derventa (the northern part of the Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina) have formed units of the National Guard corps, so-called "Zengas," the Sarajevo daily OSLOBODJENJE writes. The daily, published in the capital of Bosnia-Hercegovina, cites an estimate by the republican Interior Ministry.

The formations are "armed with infantry weapons, mortars of 60, 82 and 120 millimetre calibres, anti-tank weapons and several anti-aircraft cannon," OSLOBODJENJE writes. The Zengas are ethnically-pure Croat units in the forefront of the fighting against the Serbs living in the neighbouring secessionist Republic of Croatia.

The ethnically and religiously diverse Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina has a population made up of 43.77 per cent Moslems, 31.46 per cent Serbs and 17.34 per cent Croats. The Sarajevo daily also writes that a guerrilla-terrorist platoon has been formed in the area of Bosanski Brod and neighbouring villages made up of 15 citizens of the area and ten "imported" sabotage specialists.

Their objective is obvious—OSLOBODJENJE writes—to capture strategic objects in the area, including the oil refinery, power distribution facilities, post offices, police stations, communal buildings and the radio, as well as to liquidate and intimidate prominent serbs and nonsympathizers.

OSLOBODJENJE also quotes head of the republican secret police Branko Kvesic as confirming that numerous people in the republic have been illegally armed and emphasizing that individuals and groups in the republic possessd very modern weaponry. He gave no precise figures.

According to Kvesic, the figure often mentioned of 300,000 armed persons in Bosnia-Hercegovina was an exaggeration. He said that when all the necessary conditions were created for disarming such groups and individuals his service would send all its information to the competent authorities, which would then implement appropriate measures.

Kvesic also said his service's sources had indicated a possibility of an assasination attempt against president of the republican presidency Alija Izetbegovic. He did not shed any further light on the reports published by some dailies in Bosnia-Hercegovina two months ago according to which a leader of one of the republic's Moslem parties had ordered Izetbegovic's assassination.

The man targeted by the press at the time was president of the Moslem Bosnian Organization (MBO) Adil Zulfikarpasic, who has now started a court action because of the allegation. The head of the secret police of Bosnia-Hercegovina said his service was wiretapping about fifty persons in the republic with the aim of monitoring illegal and hostile activities by individuals or groups.

JNA Control of Military Industry Viewed

92BA0265A Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE in Serbo-Croatian 10, 11, 12 Dec 91

[Article on the military-industrial complex in Bosnia-Hercegovina by Mensur Camo in three installments]

[10 Dec p 5]

[Text] The military-industrial complex in BH [Bosnia-Hercegovina] was conceptually developed after the (last) war in the central part of the central Yugoslav republic, which in the event of foreign military aggression was supposed to absorb, like a sponge, almost the entire Yugoslav army. For that reason, the military-specific industry (VNI) in BH accounts for practically all of the production of weapons, ammunition, equipment, and other essential material supplied to the JNA [Yugoslav People's Army]. On the other hand, because of the quality of technological development, equipment, and cadre, as well as the level of investment, it was also the driving force behind the development of the civilian industry. It employs the top engineers, its technological solutions are the best and the fastest, and the most propulsive and sought-after civilian production depend on it (the development of special steel in Zenica, casting in Jelsingrad, ammonium perchlorate at Azotara in Vitkova, electronics in Banja Luka, optics in Sarajevo, etc.); finally, it employs around 30,000 of the best workers, who work on the highest-quality machines. According to some estimates, the VNI in BH is worth $10 billion.

First Problems

The JNA invested in the development of the VNI for a long time after the war, through which it ensured that it would practically own this abundant complex. Operations were thoroughly centralized; the factories were simply "contractors," leaseholders based on a license or documentation from the Military Technical Institute (VTI). This low level of autonomy was an obstruction to further development, so that in 1976 it was decided at the uppermost state level to form autonomous development units within the factories. According to that agreement, the VTI was assigned the area of fundamental research and the management of more complex systems. It was here, however, that the first significant problems emerged. The VTI, which for years was full of "deserving" JNA officers and their relatives (and of course the sons of politicians), did not have the quality of researchers necessary to allow it to give up the monopoly that it had enjoyed up to then and switch over to jobs of exceptional complexity. This is why even then there was major resistance within the SSNO [Federal Secretariat for National Defense] to making the VNI autonomous, resistance that has continued to this very day.

The dependence of the VNI on the JNA, especially in the area of developmental planning and equipment, has meant serious problems for the factories: For every developmental initiative, it is necessary to wait for things to come from Belgrade, and they often arrive very late in relation to worldwide trends, if at all. The factories' dependence on the SSNO has been further reinforced by that secretariat's consent in selecting key managers, upon which it always insisted, even though

that institution has no legal base of support for a discretionary role, which results in frequent abuses. And that from all sides.

Turning to Iraq

Still, the greatest problem came from the conceptual (and ideologically based) reliance of the JNA on the Warsaw Pact: The VNI production programs were oriented towards Soviet military standards. This problem became especially obvious after exports to the Middle East were intensified in 1974. Since it was agreed at that year's Arab summit to entrust the development of the military industry to Iraq, which was the furthest away from Israel—and thus the safest place—that country became the biggest buyer of Yugoslav technology and production, which according to the Arab plan had to be compatible with Soviet goods, which naturally was not very difficult for Yugoslavia. Business deals were made. Many years of constant exports to Iraq lulled the Yugoslav VNI to sleep, so that it stopped thinking about development, or rather the possibility that Iraq could some day cease to be a client (which is what has happened in recent years). One example of the JNA's insistence on Soviet technology, which even then lagged significantly behind Western technology, was the development of the 152 mm Nora howitzer, which were longer-range and efficient, and—most importantly—the foundations of uniform ammunition were respected. Iraq, India, and other foreign buyers also bought Western equipment of the same standard, which meant that the expensive Nora project lost almost its entire market in one fell swoop.

Pretis Affair

Exports and foreign representation were completely controlled by the Federal Commission for Trade and Reserves (SDPR), also a military institution, without which it was not possible to make a single independent move, but which, on the other hand, had no intention of offering protection in the event of a market collapse. One recent example, which is only one of many, is very indicative: Although it delivered to Iraq every item that was ordered, Pretis was unable for several years to collect a debt of $80 million. However, when Ante Markovic somehow managed last year to get $60 million out of Saddam Husayn (one can still remember the euphoria that accompanied this successful move by the prime minister), the Military Service [VS] clearly did not forward this money to Unis, because the payment was allegedly halted by the SDK [Public Auditing Service] of Serbia, in whose territory the VS is located. This was followed by unpleasant strikes by Pretis workers, through which they managed to secure only a loan of 50 million dinars from the VS (!?) to "solve the most urgent problems."

If the interest on this loan is figured based on the administrative exchange rate of the dollar at the time, then Unis will probably be lucky if 50 million dinars are equal to $80 million. Thus, if it is not indebted to the Military Service instead of the other way around.

[Box, p 5]

Military Factories in BH

Based on various parameters, the VNI in BH accounts for between 56 and 60 percent of Yugoslav industry. This plentiful industry comprises the following: Pretis, Vogosca; Pobjeda, Gorazde; Igman, Konjic; Slavko Rodic, Bugojno; Slobodan Princip Seljo, Vitez; Soko, Mostar; Rudi Cajavec, Banja Luka; Zrak, Sarajevo; Bratstvo, Novi Travnik; Famos, Hrasnica; Orao, Rajlovac; and RMK Promet, Zenica.

[11 Dec p 4]

[Text] With the stroke of a pen, the SSNO can deprive military factories of any project, regardless of whether it was originated and developed at that factory.

The unequal position of the partners in the "marriage" between the military industry and the SSNO is evident in many segments, from the level of strategic decisions and general policy to the most petty individual details. In developing new technologies, for example, the SSNO has often failed to conform to the principle of rationality in investment, instead taking certain personal solutions as the basis. The question of whether a certain type of production will be established at a particular location has often depended on where some chief, undersecretary, or, quite simply, SSNO general was born or married. Thus, even though the technology for producing special plastic mass for rocket launchers and engines was developed in Kamnik, mass production was not set up at that Slovenian factory; instead, the factory in question was built in Prilep. Or there is the case of the SPS factory in Vitez, from which the technology for producing plastic explosives, which was developed there, was transferred, without any serious consideration being given to economic factors or planning, to a factory near Ivangrad (which today has a capacity that is four times the amount of that product necessary for all of Yugoslavia). Finally, there is the case of Unis and Makedonski Brod, where production programs were transferred in a similar way. Clearly behind each of these cases are the first and last names of certain leading figures in the SSNO or VTI.

In recent years, problems on the foreign market in particular have multiplied. Belgrade's complete control over every phase of negotiating deals with foreign partners makes it impossible for professionals, i.e., representatives of military factories, to react to market demands adequately, which usually means with enough speed and aggressiveness. Because of this, situations are possible like the one with Iraq, where it accepts new agreements with Yugoslavia only under the condition that payments be deferred for two years, which in the end our negotiators accepted (why?), while Iraq pays, say, France everything in cash. Or the case of the sale of ammunition to Peru, who never pays for it, something that also happens with Ethiopia, Zimbabwe, Nigeria, etc. Arrangements

have also been reached like the one with Bangladesh, where ammunition (whose "components" include expensive machines, foreign-exchange payments, energy, highly-skilled scientific research and production labor, etc.) is paid for with jute for producing sacks (meaning that, to our detriment, we are consenting to the barter system of primitive communities). Or like with Libya: A project involving several military factories is agreed to, but we allow the project inspectors to be supervisors from England. It even happens that agreements are reached with foreign buyers on the sale of rockets, but not rocket launchers (!?), or that goods are marked in Cyrillic but the buyer will accept them only if the markings are in English. Still, the biggest problem for all of the military factories arises from the nature of relations between them and the SSNO in the area of developing new systems. We will illustrate this with several examples. According to previous plans and general practice, the rule has been that Pretis in Vogosca develops rocket and artillery ammunition of 76 mm and higher, and that upon the adoption of new systems this same factory also produces it. The first exceptions have occurred over the past few years: First, with the new generation of rocket launchers, which—for reasons that remain unclear—is being developed at Sloboda in Cacak, and then with the subcaliber projectile for the Kapela system, which was transferred from Uzice to Prvi Partizan, a factory that produced infantry ammunition and that, through some petty and clever ruses by individuals in the SSNO, was promoted from subcontractor to main contractor. Furthermore, the documentation for the Kapela's powder charge, a notarized copy of which was sent by Pretis to Belgrade, simply "disappeared" mysteriously, only to be reappear even more mysteriously some time later on VTI forms and letterhead. Something similar happened with the aerosol bomb; this Unis factory was in charge of the project and documentation, but under inexplicable circumstances everything was made over to the Military Institute in Zarkov, which in turn handed it over on a platter to Prva Iskra in Baric. In addition, the joint work on converting 130 mm systems into 155 mm systems, which our military factories carried out with the international development and investment company SRC (Space Research Company), although very successful, did not yield the expected market results (we were not fast and adroit enough, so that one day China emerged in a cooperative arrangement with SRC). But the following point is more important to this article: Pretis, which besides projectiles also developed a full line of powder charges, suddenly and mysteriously lost business worth several million dollars. Milan Blagojevic in Lucani, the company that was a subcontractor to Pretis in this business, suddenly became the main contractor. According to some unofficial sources, a copy of the documentation was delivered to the factory in Lucani by the then-technical director at Pretis, Col. Radoman Sekularac, who soon thereafter became the directory of the military factory in Baric.

The situation with scientific research is even more inauspicious. Researchers and designers who, often under conditions of great personal sacrifice and even greater resourcefulness, have worked for months and years on new inventions often lose authorship rights when their work is complete, and their firms lose the market value of projects in which they have invested a great deal of resources. Under the typical agreements on developing new war technology concluded between the SSNO and the factories, the factories must renounce authorship rights to research results; designers may not publish scientific papers based on their research and discoveries without the consent of the SSNO; and, perhaps most tragically, the SSNO is the owner of the entire documentation, while the factory, which is the actual author of the documentation, cannot have independent access to it, and thus cannot valorize it on the market. In addition, new technical solutions achieved over the course of the project, for which the author's or parent factory's right to industrial ownership must be recognized under applicable regulations, automatically become the property of the SSNO. With the stroke of a pen, the SSNO or the VTI, as the inviolable owners of everything, can shut down production at one location and transfer it to another factory that is not "out of sight, out of mind."

Thus, it should come as no surprise that the designers at our military factories are completely anonymous. For example, how many people, even well-informed ones, know that the designer of the rocket that has destroyed Vukovar over the past few months (the Plamen M-63 rocket for hand-held rocket launchers)—indeed, he himself probably has no objections to this anonymity—is a resident of Sarajevo? Just as the anonymous designer of the Kalashnikov today is probably living in poverty somewhere in Siberia....

[12 Dec p 4]

[Text] Can the BH military industry once again be rendered able to "feed half of BH," or rather to assume its share of the world market with the most expensive and sought-after goods? It can, but first it must make a revolutionary move...

The colonialist attitude of the SSNO towards military factories, where scientists and designers are paid an hourly wage (!?) to develop new products as if they were working on ordinary mass production, with a monopoly over production and sales, put several of the factories in BH in a very unpleasant position after last year's elections. For example, in the opinion of people from the SSNO, SPS in Vitez is "no longer reliable" (because of the HDZ [Croatian Democratic Community] and SDA [Party of Democratic Action] victory), so that there is a tendency towards deadening development and the production of rocket fuel and artillery gunpowder there and transferring this to Belgrade or elsewhere in Serbia. Also at Vitez, but at Vogosca, Hrasnica, Bugojno, and other military factories as well, there has been for several years now a constant reduction in spending for scientific research, while through continual reorganizations and

the appointment of either people "in transition" (according to Serbia) or "[illegible word] duties" as the heads of these collectives, it is impossible to stabilize them on the market. If we add to this speculation about the restructuring of company ownership (according to some sources, SDS [Serbian Democratic Party] activist Jove Tintor has bought up a large portion of stock in the Vogosca factory) and the tendency towards shutting down the program of specific production at the School of Mechanical Engineering in Sarajevo, it is clear that more refined methods like deadening the BH military industry and destroying the existing personnel potential are much more effective than the spectacular shift of raw materials, intermediate goods, tools, and documentation.

Through intentional delays and blockades, obstructions, and a harsh attitude towards everything coming from BH factories, and thus through the systematic destruction of the BH military industry, the army is nevertheless not deprived of what it needs. For nearly every BH factory, there is a "twin" in Serbia which, given a minimal investment and for the short term, can reorient itself towards the production of new products. The "twin brother" of SPS in Vitez is the semi-industrial VTI plant in Baric; for Slavko Rodic in Bugojno it is Krupnik in Valjevo; for Igman in Konjic it is Prvi Partizan and Pobjeda; for Gorazde it is Krupnik and Sloboda; for FAMOS it is IMT in Rakovica and FAP in Priboj; and for Soko it is Utva and Belgrade's aviation industry. The only factories for which there are no Serb equivalents without major investments are Sarajevo's Zrak (which, however, can be painlessly replaced by imports) and Bratstvo in Novi Travnik, an absolutely "unique item" which—and not without good reason—must be very careful over the coming months(!)

One might ask: Why Serbia? But the existing arrangement of political relations offers a clear answer to this question. Doesn't it?

But one should not be unfair and fail to acknowledge that there are many people responsible for the collapse of BH's VNI within BH itself. Sometimes petty personal interests, sometimes laziness, but most frequently authentic "socialist" professional inertia have contributed to the unstoppable collapse of this industrial complex. An example is the Unis scientific research institute, which was (overly) ambitiously conceived of and planned for several major areas in military-production activities. This was too broad a move for both Unis and the republic; the projects on which work was being done were almost bigger than the 70 existing researchers (for purposes of illustration and comparison: "Rhein Nettall [as published] in Duesseldorf hired an entire institute of 270 researchers to develop only one project—"smart" subammunition), which made it impossible to achieve the "critical mass" that would have "pushed" the Institute into real projects. In the meantime, economic misfortunes have affected the entire country, so that the flow of money to the Institute has gradually slacked off. And this has been figured out by those who head this institution: They intend to halt all further expansion and lease the existing space to interested parties in order that the Institute is able to live off the rent. And all this is a situation when the lagging military industry desperately needs this type of institute in order to overcome the crisis.

The question of whether the VNI in BH can be allowed to continue to decline is, we hope, a superfluous one. This is a propulsive activity, with a very high-quality intellectual and material "infrastructure" enabling it to keep up with the exponential worldwide development in this area, which is confirmed by the interest shown by English, French, and other international firms in investing money in joint projects. What then is needed to save this industry? Besides the regular measures by the BH state to settle the internal situation, there is one key move that, although revolutionary, must be made to avoid losing valuable time and to ensure that the VNI "feeds half of BH." It is the severing—in terms of organization, technology, business, and law—of the colonialist relationship with the SSNO. Because as long as this relationship continues, BH military factories will never be able to go out into the world autonomously and independently and assume the share of the market that objectively belongs to them.

And this merits special emphasis—it is the market for the most expensive and most sought-after goods in the world!

[Box, p 4]

Does the Director Know...

Does the former director of the Unis scientific research center on Crni Vrh know what is happening to this institution today? We remind our readers that this person is Dr. Ejup Ganic, a member of the republican Presidency, who until last year's elections was the director of that institution. Thus, can a member of the collective chief of this state halt the piecemeal sale of the ambitiously planned Institute and its leasing to private entrepreneurs, owners of video arcades, fruit and vegetable vendors, and all sorts of dealers?

[Box, p 4]

Concern or Mistrust

At the beginning of November, the chief of the District Staff of Zenica Territorial Defense, Ramiz Subalic, sent a report to the opstinas of Vitez, Novi Travnik, and Bugojno stating that, under orders from military authorities, the system for defending the military factories in the territory of these opstinas must in the future be taken over by a JNA helicopter regiment from Sarajevo. Since these duties were previously under the jurisdiction of the Territorial Defense of the opstinas in question, the local population has begun to wonder whether this action is the result of increased JNA concern about these factories of federal significance, or whether it in fact reflects a loss of confidence in the civilian authorities, who for the most part come from the ranks of the HDZ.

Workers and the population in these cities feel that the JNA need not be concerned about security at the factories. As they themselves say, they will "be able on their own to protect every job from any aggressor."

Macedonia

Referendum on Albanian Autonomy Begins 11 Jan

LD1101153792 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1340 GMT 11 Jan 92

[Text] Skopje, 11 Jan (TANJUG)—Despite the warnings of the Macedonian Government that the referendum on political and territorial autonomy of Albanians is illegitimate, Albanians started voting on their autonomy in western Macedonia, Skopje, and Kumanovo areas today. According to the claims of the leadership of the recently formed assembly for the holding of the referendum, Albanians are voting at more than 500 polling stations, and so far there have been no reported incidents or excesses.

As TANJUG has learned, most polling stations are in the Tetovo municipality, where there are more than 150; in Skopje voting is taking place at more than 100 polling stations; in Gostivar 90; in Kicevo and Struga 40. Albanians are also voting on their autonomy in Debar, Resen, Bitola, Titov Veles, and even in Krusevo and Prilep. According to the statements of the organizers of the referendum, 24 polling stations for Albanians have been opened in Western Europe.

According to reports from the field, there are indications that today it was only a "simulation" [simuliranje] of the referendum, because people have been expressing their opinion on the issue of "whether you are for political and territorial autonomy of the Albanians in Macedonia" since September. It has been assessed that mass rallies of Albanians will be organized at certain polls because these spots will be visited by the representatives of certain international organizations and foreign journalists.

'Massive' Turnout Claimed

AU1201173492 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 12 Jan 92

[Text] The organizers of the referendum for the political and territorial autonomy of Albanians in Macedonia claim massive turnout yesterday and today at the polling stations, amounting to more than 80 percent. They think that the referendum that the Macedonian Government deemed unconstitutional and illegal has been a complete success. Boris Djordjioski reports from Skopje:

[Begin Djordjioski recording] In the Gostivar headquarters for organizing and monitoring the referendum of Albanians, it is being stressed that there was a massive turnout, with some 350,000 people expected to have voted by this evening. This figure does not apply only to Macedonia, because polling stations have been open in Slovenia, Croatia, and Bosnia-Hercegovina and—one should also add—the 24 west European countries. They are all voting in favor of the territorial autonomy of western Macedonia.

More than (?50,000) Albanians have come from all over Europe to Tetovo and Gostivar to vote. The referendum is almost over in Tetovo, and almost all areas in Macedonia where Albanians live report that the turnout has been above 80 percent.

According to Sedaj Salihu, the press spokesman in Gostivar, there have been no major incidents, but the militia has intervened at almost all polling stations in Macedonia. They have been taking away voting material and ballot boxes. They have searched activists and committee members, as well as houses, apartments, and vehicles, but no one has been arrested. They are saying that the referendum is being followed by several foreign journalists and supervised by the United States Congressman Joseph Diogardi. [name as heard]

Macedonian journalists have been reporting that Turks, Macedonians, and Muslims have been [word indistinct] boycotting the referendum, as well as the Albanians in Kicevo, where the referendum has been a total failure. They have also said that the militia have been closing unauthorized polling stations, but the organizers have been reopening them.

Some journalists have been reporting that the Albanian people in the villages around Tetovo and Gostivar are organizing and taking up arms. It is difficult to verify these reports, but today's proclamation of the Macedonian Republic of Vevcani is quite certain. In the sole Macedonian village in the Struga area, which is surrounded by mainly Albanian settlements, some 2,000 residents voted in favor of their own republic with the right, as they say, to join a Macedonian federation. This is a response by local Macedonians to the Albanian referendum. [end recording]

Assembly Debates Referendum

AU1101182092 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 11 Jan 92

[Text] An hour ago, the Assembly of Macedonia ended a two-day debate on the political and security situation in the republic and focused particularly on the referendum among Albanians for political and territorial autonomy. The debate in the Assembly ended suddenly and, as our correspondent Boris Djordjioski reports, the referendum continues unhindered.

[Begin Djordjioski recording] The Macedonian people attentively awaited today's resumption of the session of the Macedonian Assembly that was interrupted last night, particularly because of deputies' warnings that, due to the referendum, an open interethnic conflict was more than possible since not one Macedonian would sit with their arms crossed while the Albanians tried to divide Macedonia.

Dzeladin Murati and Abdurahman Haliti think that the referendum is only a realistic consequence of the unfavorable position of Albanians in Macedonia and that the mistakes that the Government of Macedonia has made regarding Albanians are obvious. They also think that the government is conducting a single-nationality policy—that is, a Macedonian policy—which means that it is consciously oriented toward nationalism.

Murati, vice president of the Assembly of Macedonia, said that the policy of equality had not succeeded in Macedonia. Speaking about the referendum, Haliti concluded that this was a case of getting what you asked for. After the speeches by these two deputies from the ranks of the Albanian coalition between the parties of the PDP [Party for Democratic Prosperity] and the NDP [People's Democratic Party], Mersim Polozani, also from this coalition, proposed that this discussion end and that the government's report on the referendum be adopted. The proposal was adopted by vote, and the government was charged with following the state of interethnic relations in the republic.

It should be said here that the Macedonian Government condemned the referendum last night as unconstitutional and illegal and then called on all citizens to defend democracy. For its part, it promised to take all measures to preserve the peace and prevent interethnic conflicts.

The Assembly's session continued with deputies' questions and answers.

According to the very meager reports arriving here in Skopje, some 500 polling stations were opened today in public places, restaurants, cafes, and private houses in the republic. As the Gostivar-based organizers of the referendum have been saying, 24 polling stations have also been opened in West European countries. The truth of their claim that the voting in Macedonia is being supervised by a nine-member delegation from the International Foundation for Human Rights and Freedoms in the United States and a similar commission from of the United Nations is difficult to confirm.

They say that, so far, there have been no incidents and the forces of law and order are not preventing voting. It is thought in Tetovo, where the Albanians are most numerous, that the results are a foregone conclusion, while people in Bitola think that today's vote is only a farce, because a secret referendum has already been held and its outcome is known. In the town of Vrapciste, it is claimed that a referendum was already held in September of last year, when the Assembly of Macedonia voted for a sovereign and independent Macedonia.

As the organizers claim, the referendum will last until tomorrow. Results will then be announced, that is say, it will be seen how many Albanians circled the word yes in answer to the question on the ballots—Are you in favor of the political and territorial autonomy of Albanians in Macedonia?—and whether anyone voted against. [end recording]

Government Opposes Referendum

LD1001173992 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1605 GMT 10 Jan 92

[Text] Skopje, Jan 10 (TANJUG)—The government of the Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia today again stressed that the scheduled referendum on the territorial and political autonomy of ethnic Albanians in the republic was contrary to the Macedonian Constitution and laws and the declaration calling for the international recognition of Macedonia.

A statement released on the session held by the Macedonian Government today said that "Unilateral acts of minorities, which do not take into account the opinion of the majority, lead to violence." The Macedonian Government said that it would take all measures which are in its jurisdiction to prevent inter-nationality conflicts which could be sparked by the scheduled referendum of ethnic Albanians.

The leaders of the ethnic-Albanian parties in Macedonia have taken the decision that the referendum on the territorial and political autonomy of ethnic Albanians in the republic be held on January 11 and 12, as a reply to the "refusal of the Macedonians" to recognize the "ethnic Albanians" right to have the status of a nation.'

Deputy Macedonian Prime Minister Blaze Ristovski stated on Macedonian television yesterday evening that the scheduled referendum would "only aggravate" internationality relations in the republic "to the detriment of the Albanian population." "Macedonia will not permit any parallel authority in its state," Ristovski said.

The ethnic Albanians have the status of a national minority in Yugoslavia. They boycotted a census taken in April last year, but it is estimated that they account for 420,000 of Macedonia's two million inhabitants.

The Macedonian Government today raised an initiative for a subsequent census of the ethnic-Albanian population to be taken in the republic in the presence of representatives of international associations for human rights and freedoms.

Gligorov Comments on Talks With Republic Leaders

AU1001175292 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 10 Jan 92

[Text] At a news conference in Skopje, Macedonian President Kiro Gligorov positively assessed yesterday's conference in Brussels. Boris Djordjioski reports:

[Begin Djordjioski recording] Gligorov positively assessed the course and outcome of yesterday's meeting in Brussels. He said that it was businesslike and successful, and that the view finally prevailed that a political solution can only be found at a conference table. Regardless of the fact that Yugoslavia is not functioning as a

federation with all its federal bodies, we must understand one another as partners who will continue to live together and talk to one another, Gligorov said.

Since the federation does not have effective power, and the republics are in an undefined position, it is necessary to conclude the process of their international recognition as soon as possible so that they can assume all responsibilities and obligations. I believe that this will be done by 15 January, as proposed by the Arbitration Commission.

Gligorov expressed the view that Macedonia has met all the conditions for international recognition, but that it would not be the end of the world if this recognition were not granted by the middle of January. The most important thing is that the process has been started.

Gligorov considers economic and other forms of help from the EC as important as the deployment of the peacekeeping troops. This would create conditions for cooperation among the republics, which were members of the former federation. The republics or the Yugoslav association (?should join) the EC. This would reinforce the democratic (?processes) and open up prospects for resolving very difficult, above all, economic problems.

Gligorov said that he agreed with [Slovene] President Kucan that Macedonia and Slovenia should recognize each other. This may happen tomorrow. He also proposed the same thing to Croatian President Tudjman. There would first be an exchange of messages. This would be followed by notes for establishing diplomatic relations. During the talk with Serbian President Milosevic, it was jointly concluded that the talks held in Ohrid on 27 December were received favorably. The two presidents agreed to hold another round of talks in order to remove problems that are slowing down or hindering economic relations and overcome the barriers, because the more direct cooperation is in the interest of both republics, Gligorov said. [end recording]

Assembly Accepts Tupurkovski's Resignation

LD1001230892 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1754 GMT 10 Jan 92

[Excerpt] Skopje, 10 Jan (TANJUG)—The deputies of the Macedonian Assembly today expressed full support for the activity of the leaders of this republic to achieve international recognition of Macedonia's independence. Speaking about Macedonia's international activity, Kiro Gligorov, president of the Republic, emphasized that, following his last visit to London and Brussels, the foreign ministers of Great Britain and Belgium had expressed support for Macedonia's constructive policy in the search for a solution of the Yugoslav crisis.

Gligorov said that it was quite clear that Macedonia had fulfilled all conditions and criteria required to become an internationally recognized state. According to him, his hosts in London and Brussels expressed surprise that Greece was demanding a change in Macedonia's name.

The president of Macedonia also informed the deputies about the substance of his talks with Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic in Skopje. Serbia, Gligorov said, is not opposed to the sovereignty of Macedonia and has offered to be associated with it as such. On the other hand, Gligorov added, Macedonia will not give up its aim to become an independent state and will continue to cooperate with all its neighbors. He announced that there would be a new meeting with the president of Serbia.

The Macedonian Assembly accepted the resignation of Dr. Vasil Tupurkovski, member of the SFRY Presidency from Macedonia. Stojan Andov said that the parliament accepted and fully understood Tupurkovski's reasons for this step. The deputies expressed their gratitude and respect for his past work. Tupurkovski will continue with his international mission as a special envoy of President Gligorov. [passage omitted]

New Envoy for International Activities Appointed

LD1101021492 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0135 GMT 11 Jan 92

[Text] Skopje, January 10 (TANJUG)—Vasil Tupurkovski will become his special envoy in international activities for getting international recognition of the Republic of Macedonia, southeastern Yugoslavia, announced Kiro Gligorov, president of Macedonia.

Today, Macedonia's parliament adopted the resignation of Vasil Tupurkovski, member for Macedonia on Yugoslavia's Federal Presidency. Tupurkoveki stopped attending sessions of the eight-member Presidency of Yugoslavia early last September.

Parliament supported the republic's leaders activities to get Macedonia's independence recognized internationally.

Georgievski's Pro-Bulgarian Stand Revealed

92BA0264B Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 15 Dec 91 p 14

[Article by Dragan Djuric: "Macedonia: Georgievski Still the Center of Attention; Cassettes Confirm That Georgievski Does Not Have 'Clean Hands'"—first paragraph is VJESNIK introduction]

[Text] That Georgievski's views have not exactly been well understood even in the Macedonian diaspora, especially in Canada, is indicated by cassettes on which his appearances were recorded. The Macedonian political weekly PULS is publishing them exclusively.

Even after his voluntary abdication from the post of vice president of Macedonia, the leader of the Macedonian national party VMRO-DPMNE [Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Democratic Party for Macedonian Unity], Ljubco Georgievski, is not dropping at all off the columns of the Macedonian press. His

visit of last month to the United States and Canada, which could be fatal for his political career, remains the center of attention.

Because, the only result that came from this trip over the Atlantic Ocean is the complaint that he "plotted" there with the pro-Bulgarian organization MPO [Macedonian Patriotic Organization]; this is considered "national treason" by part of the Macedonian public. And that his views and actions have not exactly been well understood even in the numerous Macedonian diaspora, especially in Canada, is indicated by cassettes on which his appearances were recorded, and which the Macedonian political weekly PULS has published exclusively, announcing the continuation of this authentic observation in the next issue.

If there were still doubts whether the accusations of Georgievski's foreign sponsor, the ideological creator of his party and current honorary president of VMRO-DPMNE, Dragan Bogdanovski, set forth in a letter published in NOVA MAKEDONIJA are a skilled fabrication, now even the greatest skeptics should be convinced. Specifically, the cassette should clearly document that, indeed, Georgievski does not have "clean hands."

Is there a connection between Bogdanovski and KOS [the Counterintelligence Service]?: Because of what has been reported in the press up to now, and even more because of what has been said about Bogdanovski, it is not difficult to doubt him. In short, that Macedonian with the status of an emigrant for many years is a controversial figure at the least. Thus it is assumed that, as a political emigrant in Europe and the world, he has worked for several intelligence services. Because of VMRO ideas, he served 10 years in Skoplje prisons, and it is known that KOS kidnapped him in Paris at one time. In one moment Bogdanovski was released from prison and with a duly certified travel document left Yugoslavia. Since then suspicions exist that KOS recruited him before his departure.

Split with Georgievski: Be that as it may, the true shadow of Georgievski, Bogdanovski—who, under still unexplained circumstances, was the main inspiration for the founding of VMRO-DPMNE (VMRO—Democratic Party of Macedonian National Unity) in Sweden in Narch 1990—a split with Georgievski, right after his return from the USA and Canada. And this, as he will write in a letter to NOVA MAKEDONIJA, and about which VJESNIK has already written, because of the fact that Georgievski "made a pact with the pro-Bulgarian vrhovist [supporter of the Vrhovni Makedonski Komitet, Supreme Macedonian Committee] organization MPO in America," and recommends to the party that it convene a Congress at which "instead of the nationally unstable Georgievski, a nationally healthy and sound man will be elected president."

Unpleasant questions: The publishing of the contents of the cassettes with the speeches of Georgievski in Canada, where he found himself under a barrage of unpleasant questions of this sort—who financed your stay in the USA, with the unavoidable suggestion of the answer that it was pro-Bulgarian inclined organizations—is confirmed by quotes of Bogdanovski. To political opponents of Georgievski and his party, this is only a confirmation that VMRO-DPMNE is what they, if not knew, then sensed—a pro-Bulgarian organization, whose support for an independent and sovereign Macedonian state is only a convenient mask.

After secession an easier trophy for Bulgaria?: Because, as a part of the public activists in Macedonia have claimed, the real political aim of VMRO-DPMNE has been, indeed, that Macedonia secede from Yugoslavia, but not that it be constituted as an independent state. According to this variation, Macedonia would become an easier trophy for Bulgarian territorial aspirations, and that part could join both Albania and Serbia was also counted on. As a supplement to this theory, political opponents of Georgievski offer, as arguments, the opposition of his party to a referendum, as well as to a new Constitution, about which it was uncertain up to the last minute, whether representatives of VMRO-DPMNE voted for him.

Georgievski, whose leadership position in the party has not yet been brought into question, feels in this whole story like the victim of a skillfully orchestrated media campaign. In his detailed answer to Dragan Bogdanovski on the pages of NOVA MAKEDONIJA, Georgievski explains that it was Dragan Bogdanovski himself who organized the meetings with the "pro-Bulgarian MPO." As to the proscribed organizations themselves, Georgievski claims that a change in relations with Macedonia and its independence movement is in sight. Moreover, he is convinced that "Macedonia, with a reasonable and careful policy," can "obtain the favor of more than 20 churches, which that organization holds under its control on the American continent."

True to his political orientation: In his words, "the atmosphere of an apocalypse is being created" unnecessarily around these contacts of his. Georgievski, judging from everything, is remaining true to his political orientation, which is being reduced to the need for a change in the current Macedonian policy toward Bulgaria, since this is a condition, he claims, for Macedonia finally to establish a constructive international relationship with that neighboring country. However, part of the political public continues to be skeptical to Bulgarians. Because, despite the fact that they are prepared to recognize Macedonia as an independent state, they would not think of recognizing the existence of the Macedonian people; the Bulgarian President, Zeljo Zelev, recently repeated this.